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The Shape of Things

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THE PRESIDENT HAS AGAIN HIT HIS STRIDE, at least politically. The industrial and market upturn, whatever the guessing as to its causes, needs no guesswork about its political results. The election returns in this country follow the business indices, and the rise in these will do more than any amount of political maneuvering to insure a substantial Democratic victory in the fall elections. Swimming on this psychological flood tide, the President struck out boldly and vigorously in his fireside chat with the nation. It was easily one of his most successful speeches, displaying all his resources of confidence, phrase-making, political acumen, understanding of the popular mind. It showed the President once more on the offensive—at least verbally. His satisfaction over his victory in the new liberalism of the Supreme Court was justified, although he refrained from mentioning the emergence, in Justice Black's opinions, of a position even more progressive than his own. His attack on the "Copperheads" who would give up the fight in the middle of the war gives the progressives a new slogan against the reactionary Democrats, and a new historical analogy. But it will be recalled that Lincoln, when he was fighting the Copperheads, was at the same time fighting the radicals among the Republicans. Mr. Roosevelt said nothing in his speech about his retreat on the Spanish embargo; nor did he indicate that he is any closer than he has ever been to a program of economic planning in the key industries. His allusion—though not by name—to Alfred P. Sloan, head of General Motors, who with an income of $1,000 a day fights the $11-a-week minimum of the wage-hour law, was a good one. So was his similarly guarded allusion to Frank Hague, who "attempts to suppress individual liberty under the pretense of patriotism." But in both cases the proof of vigorous words must lie in eventual action.

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MUCH THE BEST PART OF THE SPEECH WAS the section concerning the primaries. It cut the ground from under the tory attack on the President, the strategy of which has been to attribute the Administration's cam-

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paign against reactionary Democrats to his personal resentment at their stand on the court bill. Mr. Roosevelt has made the issue clear. As President he stands for the return of progressives in every party—and the Administration's clear sympathy for Governor Benson of Minnesota in his fight against the reactionaries within the Farmer-Labor Party is a good illustration of that. Governor Benson's victory in the primaries is a New Deal victory, as also will be his victory in the election. As party leader the President is concerned not merely with a candidate's record on the court plan but with his "general attitude toward present-day problems." We want no yes-men in Congress, and there is little danger that we will get them. The real danger is that we will get a bunch of "yes, but" men, who give lip-service to the New Deal but oppose all specific measures to put it into practice. Those are the men to be fought in the primaries. Our great fear is that through counsels of political discretion too few rather than too many of them will feel the full weight of Administration opposition. The increase in WPA wages in the Southern states will be generally interpreted by the press as discriminatory aid to New Deal candidates in the primaries. Its significance goes far beyond the primaries. It means that the Administration cannot undercut its own wage-hour bill by paying starvation WPA rates in the South. It means also, in the lifting of the $1,000-a-year limit in the white-collar and professional projects, that the cultural value of the WPA is being recognized.

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WITH THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE OUTBREAK of war only ten days off, Japan finds itself once more virtually stalemated in its invasion of China. The Yangtze offensive has been checked by a combination of superior Chinese forces and high water. The threat to the island of Hainan off French Indo-China appears to have been frustrated by warnings from France and Britain. Chengchow remains safe behind the defenses provided by the Yellow River floods. Guerrillas are active once more in both northern Hopei and the Shanghai-Nanking area. The main Japanese threat, at the moment, is against Swatow in southern Fukien, which might be used as a base for a drive on Canton. But a major drive in this area would meet so many difficulties that the Chinese would welcome it as a means of further extending the Japanese lines of communications. Hallett Abend, New York *Times* correspondent in China, asserts that further conquest would necessitate the creation of a Japanese army of occupation of at least 2,000,000 to maintain any semblance of order and control. This is far beyond Japan's capacity. On Japan's home front the series of emergency decrees issued last week rationing raw materials and further restricting trade points to increasing weakness. A recent study by the Chinese Council for Economic Research estimates that if the purchase of war materials continues at the same rate as during the first six months of the war, Japan's gold reserve will not last out the year.

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THE GROWING TENDENCY OF SOVIET RUSSIA to withdraw from active leadership in the struggle for European security is clearly reflected in Maxim Litvinov's recent Leningrad speech. The Soviet Foreign Minister was bitter in his castigation of the "realistic" policy of the Western powers, but he stressed the fact that it is these powers, rather than the Soviet Union, which must pay the price. Tracing the history of recent aggression, he showed that England and France, not Russia, have lost most heavily as a result of the Japanese conquest of Manchuria, the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, the repudiation of Versailles, and fascist intervention in Spain. "Aggressors," he added, "will always look for new plunder in the territories whose masters have demonstrated their inertness and inability to defend their positions," and he issued a warning that the next European war would find the Western democracies isolated and weakened in the face of a resolute, adventurous foe. While he made it clear that the Soviet Union will honor its obligations under the mutual-assistance pacts, far more trust, he said, would be placed in the efficacy of the Red Army than in these instruments for the defense of the Soviet frontiers. This will be disappointing to those who have looked to the Soviet Union for leadership in the struggle for peace. But it was inevitable that the collapse of collective action would eventually isolate even its strongest proponent.

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THE "EVER-NORMAL-WAREHOUSE" PLAN for industry, similar to the ever-normal granary for agriculture, which Mordecai Ezekiel proposed at the Tamiment Social and Economic Institute represents an ingenious technique for economic planning under capitalism. It has the advantage of relative simplicity. If an industry operating in accordance with the government's general plan for production develops a surplus of output, the government will undertake to purchase the surplus for subsequent distribution or sale. The maintenance of a high level of production in both industry and agriculture would in itself guarantee a relatively high purchasing power. The buy-and-give program of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, as exemplified in the pending purchase of $10,000,000 worth of clothing from the garment industry, is a rather crude step in this direction. Like all forms of economic control, the plan has its dangers. Carelessly administered, it might only encourage glut and overproduction. Even if administered with skill, dislocations would undoubtedly develop. But the alternative, as Mr. Ezekiel pointed out, is a continu-

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ation of the present violent oscillation between boom and stagnation, utilizing only partially the country's productive capacity. It is true that New Deal planning to date has only added to the violence of the economic oscillations. But the cure is not retreat into anarchy but advance into a complete and effective system of control. Mr. Ezekiel has pointed a possible way.

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FOR "TOWN AND GOWN" TODAY, READ "THE university and the world." The old feuds and rowdyisms no longer occupy the center of the stage. The real headaches of college presidents today come from student activities in strikes, the college's participation in free-speech fights, the danger of legislative red-baiting, the anxiety with which progressive and reactionary groups in the outside world watch university appointments and honorary degrees. President Dodds of Princeton could scarcely be happy over the student storm of protest against the university's barefaced truckling to the Hague machine in awarding an honorary degree to Governor A. Harry Moore, one of Hague's henchmen. No wonder Walt Disney got honorary degrees this year from both Yale and Harvard: you can scarcely make a political issue of Mickey Mouse and Dopey. President Conant of Harvard, whose first years in office have been as turbulent as those of any college president, made a speech on the university and public opinion. With obvious reference to the controversies over Granville Hicks and the Walsh-Sweezy episode, Mr. Conant insisted that the university must not yield to the pressure of public opinion from either right or left. His speech was, of course, itself an appeal to public opinion. And it was a clever one, because the public tends to side with any official who, pressed from both directions, seems to hold to the middle way. The logical hole in Mr. Conant's argument is that there is one enormous difference between the two cases he mentions. In the Hicks case the faculty has been with the President. In the Walsh-Sweezy case the President's own committee of full professors has condemned his stand. This is not an issue of external pressures. It is an issue of democratic procedures within Harvard itself.

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IN ANNOUNCING HIS DETERMINATION TO run for Senator Copeland's seat, Governor Lehman has sharpened a conflict which will profoundly test labor's political ingenuity. His move was plainly hastened by the Labor Party's espousal of Sidney Hillman for the same post; the Governor's address, granting familiar press exaggeration, was an unmistakable challenge to the labor forces and a rallying cry for non-sectarian Republicans. None of these circumstances can afford comfort to progressives; they undoubtedly spurred Mayor La Guardia's determination to wait for 1940. But the Labor Party ought not to be cowed by Governor Lehman's palpable strength nor captivated by a set-up which provides a Lehman-Wagner senate team with perhaps Attorney General Bennett as nominee for governor. Such a ticket would bear little relation to labor's political aspirations. That the A. L. P. can swing the balance in New York is increasingly apparent. The Republicans are already impressed by it, and the Democrats must learn to accept it. The way is still open for labor to impose real conditions upon the Democrats. It certainly deserves major representation on a ticket which would face probable defeat without its support. Mr. Dubinsky has wisely emphasized that the A. L. P. does not give blindfold support to Democratic candidates. Conservative Democrats will not enjoy these discoveries; but now, if ever, is the time to make them plain.

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FOR SOME MONTHS THE EMPLOYEES OF THE Long Island *Daily Star* tried to get the publishers of that New York suburban journal to sign a Newspaper Guild contract to which the management had already given verbal agreement. Repeatedly they were put off with a plea to wait until June 20, when an important announcement was to be made. On the appointed day the assembled staff was told of the sale of the paper to S. I. Newhouse, publisher of the *Star's* only serious rival in the borough of Queens, and was confronted with an illegal proposal from Mr. Newhouse in person. With virtually a local press monopoly already under his belt, Newhouse informed the *Star* employees that he would publish the paper only if they would sign an agreement pledging that, Wagner Act or no, "there will be no collective action on their part or in their behalf" during a "two-year trial period," and stipulating that the management after three months was to have the sole right to hire and fire, with no questions asked. When the staff refused to sign this next-door-neighbor to a yellow-dog contract without at least a chance to discuss its terms with the new owner, Mr. Newhouse suspended the paper and threw 184 men and women out of work. "In these times," he announced to the press in an accompanying attack on the Guild, "I believe that public opinion should be informed of any attitude or action which forces well-paid, union-protected, upstanding citizens out of jobs and into the ranks of the unemployed." We cannot disagree with Mr. Newhouse on this score. The public should know, and we hope that the Labor Relations Board, to which the Guild proposes to carry the case, will expose the role of this little Girdler in evading the collective-bargaining provisions of the law. Even more important for the dismissed employees, we hope the board will at least assure them severance pay at the rates to which their scheming former publishers pledged their word.

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JOE LOUIS ON JUNE 22 KNOCKED OUT MAX Schmeling, Adolf Hitler, Julius Streicher, Benito Mussolini, and Jim Crow. He also poked holes in Neville Chamberlain's foreign policy. It was the second time that Joe (Liberty) Louis had come up against Max, the Nazi Menace, and the German odds were on Max, partly because of his first successful putsch and partly because of the propaganda emanating from the Schmeling concentration camp. But in the meantime Joe had called up his impressive reserves. Also he was pretty sore because Max had said he was afraid. And unfortunately for Goebbels's Ministry of Enlightenment, the fight took place in open country under sporting rules by which only one "Aryan" was permitted to attack his opponent, and brass knuckles were barred. At the end Berlin said the whole thing was the result of a (democratic) "intrigue on the part of American boxing circles" and denied reports that the defeated hero would be thrown into jail on his return.

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JAMES WELDON JOHNSON, WHO JUST LOST his life, was a man of many talents. But it was in his role as a fighter for Negro rights that *The Nation* knew him best. From the days of the successful struggle to free Haiti and Santo Domingo from control by American marines and the National City Bank to the long and still unfinished fight for a federal anti-lynching law, Johnson was both a vigorous campaigner and a shrewd diplomat. He knew politics and the mechanics of economic imperialism as well as the needs of the exploited people, and he used his knowledge with absolute devotion.

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THE CURRENT CONTROVERSY OVER SPAIN IN the Catholic weekly the *Commonweal,* with comment from the reactionary weekly *America,* is extremely interesting for the light it throws on American Catholic opinion, in which apparently all the shadings of secular opinion are paralleled. Within the year the editorship of the *Commonweal* has passed from Michael Williams, Franco "liberal," to a triumvirate of conservative liberals. In the issue of June 24 the new editors pleaded for a "positive impartiality" toward the Spanish civil war, accusing both sides in Spain of "totalitarian" excesses and deploring partisanship toward either side as aggravating "a current intellectual disease: the conviction that we are going to be forced to choose between fascism and communism." In the same issue Mr. Williams reasserted his own undeviating faith in Franco and in the story that the fascist uprising was a defensive measure taken by true Spaniards against a red plot. The magazine *America,* speaking for the hierarchy, backs the "soundly Catholic" views of Williams and says among other things that Franco "has corporative views that are highly consistent with Catholic principles and Papal encyclicals." But *America* admits that "many thousands" in the church, like the editors of the *Commonweal,* do not see the Spanish issues "clearly." The three editors appear as the intellectual vanguard of these "many thousands," the church proletariat. They propose the "personalist," not the corporative, Christian state and their aim obviously is to adapt one of the oldest of ideologies to modern liberal principles. As an intellectual exercise it has a limited interest for non-Catholics; in so far as it neutralizes or actively combats pro-Franco sentiment among Catholics it has immediate practical value.

Have We Hit Bottom?

WALL STREET is in a happy mood again. Stock prices rose for six consecutive days last week, a welcome sign after months of almost continuous decline. As usual, experts are searching frantically for an explanation of the rise. Cynics attribute it to the fact that Congress has adjourned; liberals point to the beginning of pump-priming activities; professional anti-New Dealers are convinced that it is a sign of coming inflation by way of a new devaluation. Few attribute it primarily to an improvement in business, though it is admitted that a substantial rise in stocks may in itself generate sufficient confidence to loose a flood of buying.

Nevertheless, the fact that business indices for the past week tended to be slightly better, instead of worse as was anticipated, may have been a factor. The New York *Times* index of business activity for the week ending June 11 rose 1.5 points after an almost steady decline since the end of March. On top of this, operations in the steel industry advanced two points, the first time in three months that the index had gained in two successive weeks, and the reduction in steel prices offered substantial hope of a continued rise in production. Recent gains in retail trade have brought unit sales practically to the level of last year.

Such improvement as has occurred, however, by no means offsets the decline of recent weeks. Approximately 300,000 workers were added to the ranks of the unemployed in May, although there should be a seasonal increase in jobs during the month. Pay rolls were also down, with a further drop in prospect for June.

All of this would seem, on the surface, to indicate a further drop in consumer buying power. But this is not necessarily the case. Raw-material and farm prices have tended upward in the past fortnight, increasing the buying power of a considerable portion of the population. The first shipments of grain from a record-breaking wheat harvest are beginning to reach Chicago. Moreover, the prices of finished goods and the cost of living

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have finally begun to move downward as rapidly as, or more rapidly than, commodity prices and wages. Thus it is quite possible that the deflationary cycle has reached its lowest point, and the knowledge that fresh government funds will soon be pumped into the arteries of the economic system would naturally induce confidence.

The stability of the upturn depends upon the avoidance of the mistakes that were made last year. The cut in steel prices was a healthy sign, although it was not as substantial as it should have been to bring steel in line with other products. It should, however, permit a corresponding reduction in the prices of automobiles and farm implements. Such cuts will be of real value only if wage scales are maintained. If prices can be kept down and profits prevented from skyrocketing out of proportion to everything else, there may be a sustained recovery.

A Bomb from Barcelona

THE best thing that has happened in Europe since the Czech army mobilized on May 21 is the Loyalist government's threat of reprisals in kind for the bombing of Spanish cities by Italian and German planes—reprisals directed against "the places from which the attacks come." The reprisals may never be executed, but they have already taken effect. The threat was itself a bomb, and it blew up the whole fabric of pretenses in which the powers have encased their cynical betrayal of Spain and of democracy. Mussolini, who has openly admitted, and boasted of, the exploits of his aviators in raiding Spanish ports, announced, through Gayda in the *Giornale d'Italia,* that Italy and Germany would answer reprisals "not with diplomatic notes or protests, but with cannon." France joined with Britain in energetic warnings to the Barcelona government. But in France, at least, the reprisal threat immediately precipitated a new attack on the policy forced by the British government of keeping the French-Spanish frontier closed—while Italian planes continued to bomb foreign shipping in Loyalist ports. In England, the challenge from Barcelona can only make more trouble for the government, whose pusillanimous and pro-fascist policy is arousing both parlimentary storms and public protest. It has dramatized as no other move could have done the incredible situation described in Chamberlain's already classic invitation to outrage: "I am afraid that while the war continues we must expect a succession of these incidents and horrors against which we have protested." Subsequent bombings of two more British ships sharply accented Spain's warning.

Now—perhaps too soon—the Loyalist government has indicated that it is ready to talk terms. It will withdraw its threat of reprisals in return for a minimum of protection against further devastation and massacre. It asks that France reopen the Pyrenees frontier, that France and Britain force the insurgents to halt the bombing of "open" cities, and that France and Britain agree to "impose eventual mediation of the conflict upon Insurgent General Francisco Franco, who has Italian and German support." These are not the terms of an aggressor; they are the terms of a nation fighting for its life. But they should not be taken as a sign of weakness or an admission that the threat of reprisal was a bluff. If the Pyrenees frontier remains closed, and Italian and German planes continue to sink ships bringing in supplies, the Loyalists will have only the alternative of reprisal or surrender.

If Britain and France are as "realistic" and as eager to prevent a European war as they pretend to be, they will do well to take the Loyalists' terms quite literally. This means that Spain must not be throttled into defeat while the process of counting and withdrawing "token" units of foreign troops proceeds at the pace dictated by the military needs of Mussolini; that the new plan of the non-intervention powers must be applied honestly, if at all, and not utilized as a device to implement Chamberlain's ill-fated agreement with Italy; and, finally, that the commission appointed to investigate bombings of civilians should get busy immediately and fix the blame on the guilty nations.

Familiar tactics of distortion and calumny have already been applied to Spain's move. The original warning was expressed in terms that implied no intention of bombing German or Italian cities—however justified such a purpose might be. It was promptly interpreted to mean just that, and before a day had died, the Barcelona government was charged by officials and newspapers in France and England with wilful provocation and the intention of shattering Europe's delicate peace. But poison of this sort carries its own antidote. It is a little difficult to refuse to lift a finger to prevent the destruction of a ruthlessly invaded country and then to abuse it for even threatening reprisals in its own defense.

The danger is not that the Loyalist government may go berserk and drop bombs on Genoa and Rome. On the contrary, the danger now is that it may yield to pressure. Let it show a sign of weakness and the tonic effect of its threat will be gone. But if it means what it has said and sticks to it, it can force action. For the facts remain: Mussolini and Hitler do not want general war; they want the fruits of victory without the struggle; Chamberlain has planned to give them what they want, but neither does he want war, and it is only if he believes the appointed victims of aggression to be relatively helpless that he will agree to their destruction. When Czechoslovakia took its stand, every democrat in Europe drew a breath of hope. If Spain's terms are not taken seriously, we hope the Barcelona government will speedily emphasize them by bombing the Italian air base on Majorca.

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Of Spies and Bund-Men

THE indictment by a federal grand jury of eighteen German spies, including high officers in the Nazi military intelligence, has dynamite in it. The American government has taken the unprecedented step of naming high German officials explicitly in the indictment. But we dissent emphatically from those who believe the whole incident should be played down because of its possible consequences in inciting public opinion against the Nazis. By the same logic, the news from Berlin, Spain, and China should be censored, because nothing can be as inflammatory as the story of repeated bombings of civilian populations and persecution of Jews. It is true that spy scares and atrocity stories are an easy medium for creating war feeling. That lesson was thoroughly impressed on us by our experience during the last war, and we are not likely to forget it. But it should not put liberals so completely on the defensive as to deflect them from the objective facts in any situation.

It is the objective facts that ought to be revealed. The government has thus far acted without the slightest tinge of sensationalism. It has, if anything, been too lax in letting several of the key people among the accused slip back into Germany beyond reach of American law. Those who are under arrest are assured of a fair and open trial, both in court and in the columns of a press which is not only anti-Administration but on the whole isolationist and therefore skeptical. There is no reason for assuming that anyone in the government is promoting a spy scare in order to work up a war fever. In fact, when Leon Turrou, the principal agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation working on the case, resigned to write a series of articles for the J. David Stern newspapers giving sensational revelations about the activity of the German government, United States Attorney Hardy asked the court for a restraining injunction, and Mr. Roosevelt issued a statement condemning Turrou's act. Behind this move of the federal government there was, of course, a serious concern with the possible damage that the Turrou articles might do to the conduct of the trial. But there was also a concern lest the spy hunt get outside the bounds of court procedure. And the projected series has now been dropped.

Curiously, one of the dangers in the present situation is that Americans will not sufficiently recognize the serious nature of Nazi activities in this country. That is partly due to our movies. Fiction, despite repeated assertions to the contrary by paradox-mongers, is stranger than fact. We have grown accustomed to those movies where Madeleine Carroll, as the stunning spy acting under orders from monocled Eric von Stroheim, uses her copious glamor to get the one military secret on which the fate of the whole nation hangs. And because our expectations are geared to this pattern of Hollywood's paid imagination, there is a tendency to write off the actual pattern of truth as dull. The Nazi spies appear to have been rather stupid fellows and thoroughly amateurish. They tried devious ways of getting what they might with circumspection have got with much less effort and danger. And so, with a sigh, we tend to dismiss the whole matter as small shakes and to turn again to Madeleine Carroll and the real stuff.

But the extent of the danger is not to be measured by the blundering efforts of these particular spies. Anyone who has shed his political naivete knows that every government maintains a military and industrial intelligence service in foreign countries, that there is a certain amount of informal exchange of information between governments and a certain amount of undercover snooping for more. But no country has thus far spread its antennae as widely into the internal affairs of foreign governments as has Nazi Germany. Nor has any government so completely made of it a central principle of government action. It is a principle that flows directly from the whole Nazi philosophy. Germans everywhere, Hitler has repeatedly declared, belong to the mother country, even when they are naturalized American citizens like Dr. Griebl, who was the resident manager of the spy ring here before he fled to Germany. And because they belong to the mother country, they must work for the interests of the swastika, whether in getting military secrets, or fomenting revolts, or setting up military camps and spreading anti-Semitic obscenities. Not the least value of the spy trial will be that it may set Americans to thinking about the larger perspectives of Nazi activity here.

Those perspectives are being widened by the current New York legislative inquiry into the activities of the German-American Bund. In his testimony Fritz Kuhn, Führer of the Bund, aired its anti-Semitism openly. There were the usual charges that the Jews were leaders at once of the Communist revolutionary movement and of the capitalist international bankers: even J. P. Morgan's family "has Jewish blood." There was the usual boasting of the hierarchical obedience of the Bund-men to their leader. There was the usual talk of Aryan supremacy and of the Jews as subhuman. When asked why the German camps did not teach their children the American salute instead of the Nazi outstretched hand, Kuhn answered that the latter was "the coming salute for the whole United States."

This insolent anti-Semitism, this blatant assumption of the Bund-men that they can establish a Nazi America are even more dangerous than the activities of a network of blundering spies. But they are part of the same picture. The aim, both of spies and of Bund-men, is to establish the hegemony of a greater Germany, with a Nazi America as one of its tributaries. It is a fantastic aim, but we live in a fantastic world.

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Some Like Roosevelt

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Oregon, June 15

NOT long ago John Chamberlain observed, "Franklin D. Roosevelt is more virulently hated in conservative quarters than any American progressive since John Peter Altgeld." The truth of his remark is widely recognized. No one able to read or hear can doubt the attitude of certain sections of business toward the President. But what about the average, everyday American? How does he feel toward Roosevelt? Is he for him or against him? And if he is for him, does his admiration equal in intensity the hatred of the President's opponents?

In recent months I have tried to find out the answer to these questions. I have talked with people everywhere in the vast, 400,000-square-mile area of the Columbia River basin. "What do you think of Roosevelt now?" I have asked Idaho ranchers far out on the country's last frontier and Seattle street-car motormen in the heart of the busiest metropolitan district of the Northwest.

On the train out of Spokane a mildly prosperous farmer smoked a cheroot and watched dusk cloak the arid uplands. "I feel this way about our President," he said. He's made a lot of mistakes. Those labor racketeers, Dave Beck and Harry Bridges, are running wild here in the West. He should never have let them get out of hand. But no matter what mistakes he makes, our President is trying to help the people. I know he's the best friend the farmers ever had." An old lady in Vancouver wondered where all the money was coming from. An Indian at Celilo Falls was certain Bonneville Dam had ruined the salmon fishing. An electrician in Portland wanted to know why Bridges and "those other damn radical aliens" weren't kicked out of the country. A heavy-muscled lumberjack in the Coeur d'Alene forest thought it "phony" that Dave Beck and his prize fighters and plug-uglies were allowed to tie up the timber industry. The master of the Washington State Grange said he was pessimistic about Secretary Wallace's recent farm policies. A young brakeman on the Union Pacific thought adoption of the Townsend Plan would take the support of an aged mother off his shoulders. An orchardist in the Yakima Valley was afraid WPA relief might be creating "a lot of perpetual bums."

Each of these people had a specific grievance against the national administration. Each of them thought the New Deal had erred in certain particulars. But all of them, without exception, told me they were for the President.

No one realizes this more clearly than do the reactionary politicians. On the very day that Secretary Ickes lambasted him unmercifully the militaristic Governor Charles H. Martin of Oregon came out with a long declaration proclaiming his loyalty to the President. Although the words must have burned in his mouth like tabasco sauce, the Governor carefully distinguished between such "incompetent federal officials" as Secretary Ickes and Miss Perkins, and the peerless leader in the White House. The Portland General Electric Company recently conducted a campaign which helped bring about the defeat of a plan for a public-power district near Bonneville Dam. An important part of the company's literature was material from Mr. Roosevelt's speeches purporting to show that he was averse to the type of program proposed. "A 'no' vote will be in accord with the policy approved by President Roosevelt," the company said in a score of advertisements.

Reactionary newspapers have magnified opposition to certain phases of the New Deal into a mistrust of the President. Rural objections to some phases of the cultural program are heralded as an omen that Mr. Roosevelt has lost ground in the great farming regions. This is dodging the truth with a vengeance. I talked with very few people who were opposed to the President. Ervin E. King, a bulky wheat farmer and master of the Washington Grange, is typical. He outspokenly condemned Secretary Wallace's administration of the farm act. He questioned the wisdom of restricting production. Yet he said: "Our President is the greatest American since Lincoln. Who else would take the abuse he takes and still go down the line for the people in the face of it?" I asked King if he thought the majority of Washington farmers shared this opinion. "They're still for Roosevelt, so far as I can determine," he answered. Practically an identical report on Oregon was given me by Morton Tompkins, overseer of the Oregon Grange.

Because the printed word carries greater conviction than reports of conversations, I asked numerous farmers if they would write out their opinion of Mr. Roosevelt. Practically all these brief statements ventured some criticism, then concluded with a reaffirmation of faith. A typical one is from C. A. Rockhill, a successful dairy and grain farmer near Yamhill, Oregon:

> As regards my attitude toward the present Administration, I will say that our President is apparently trying to do something for the common people. Although he may have made mistakes, I wonder what another man

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would have done under like circumstances? Considering the droughts, floods, and dust storms during his reign, he has had problems confront him such as no other President has had. My feeling toward him is consequently a very friendly one.

For four or five successive weeks I made it a point to ask every conductor, brakeman, and other train hand at all approachable how he felt about Roosevelt. I encountered only three against him. A surprising number of them referred to him as "our President." A conservative newspaperman, definitely hostile to the New Deal, admitted to me that he also had noticed this tendency. "That 'our President' stuff is something new in politics," my conservative friend growled. "Some of the farmers and other people I know must think Mr. Roosevelt belongs exclusively to them—and maybe they're right!"

The admiration which Roosevelt commands will be apparent in the West in the coming elections. Senator James P. Pope, loyal New Dealer, will be renominated in Idaho. Senator Homer T. Bone will unquestionably be renominated in Washington. Already in Oregon a comparatively unknown hinterland lawyer named Henry Hess has beaten the much-touted Governor Martin, who made the two major blunders of constantly criticizing the New Deal and inferentially indorsing German and Italian methods of solving labor problems. Democratic registration in Oregon is even higher than it was in 1936, when Roosevelt overwhelmed Landon in the state by two and a half to one.

A rancher in the Montana highlands remarked, "Nope, I never write letters to my Congressman or to the paper. Haven't got the time or the inclination. I'll do my writin' for the President on Election Day." I heard at least a dozen other people, most of them farmers, say almost exactly the same thing. The time may come when public opinion will reverse itself about the President. My observations lead me to believe that that time is not yet at hand. Roosevelt may make mistakes, but as long as he continues to be "our President" he will be the dominant influence in the nation's politics.

Britain Arms for Profit

BY H. C. ENGELBRECHT

BRITAIN'S armament muddle has already resulted in the resignation of the Air Minister, Viscount Swinton, in large-scale purchases from the dominions and the United States, and in the half-hearted official confession that the widely touted air-raid precautions are a mistake. But the profiteering of the British arms makers goes on unchanged.

The new arms program is world wide in its scope, and the original estimate of $7,500,000,000 will almost certainly prove insufficient. In the Far East Singapore and Hongkong have been elaborately fortified, and Australia has been made the arms base for that part of the world. South Africa is to have a new naval base to guard the route round the Cape. India is building arms factories and mechanizing its armies. With German guns pointing at Gibraltar the Rock's impregnability is doubted, and a "military mission" is now in Portugal presumably negotiating for the use of Lisbon as a British naval base in an emergency. Egypt's independence was tied to a new military and air program dovetailed with British plans. Finally, Canada and the United States are to be important sources of military supplies for the empire.

In the tight little island itself Duff Cooper and Hore-Belisha have remade the army, from the high command down. Tommy Atkins is better housed and fed and gets a little more rum. Mechanization and new armaments have rebuilt the rusty World War machine. War preparations range from the storing of food supplies to the appointment of hundreds of thousands of air-raid wardens who are to put out fires and rescue the injured after a bombardment. The arms industry has been decentralized and spread among plants in Scotland, England, and Wales. Nobody knows how well these jobs have been done. The government blows hot and cold alternately, depending on the point it is trying to make. When there are protests against the continual yielding to fascist impudence, the government suggests that Britain is helpless and virtually disarmed. But when the arms muddle is criticized, the Prime Minister declares boldly that "if put to the test tomorrow Britain's air force would prove to be one of the most formidable fighting machines in the world."

Not since the shell shortage in the early days of the World War has there been such a mess as the present aircraft situation. The government has deliberately shrouded it in secrecy. Not even the number of planes available was confided to the Commons until somebody discovered that the German "Handbuch der Luftfahrt" contained the information which it was not "in the public interest" to disclose to Parliament. In the manufacture of military aircraft the number of machines produced is not so important as the production capacity. In the World War Britain produced 55,000 airplanes; production leaped from almost nothing to 1,229 a month and

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then to a peak of 2,668 a month. Today, according to Labor Party estimates, after an enormous expenditure of money over three years, Britain has only 1,750 military airplanes, while Germany has 3,000. But the more important fact is that Germany's capacity for production, which General Petain several years back estimated at 2,500 a month, far outstrips that of England.

Labor's indictment goes on to say that, plane for plane, British aircraft are inferior to those of the Germans and the Italians; that after three years not a single plane built in a shadow factory has been flown; that there is a shortage of essential instruments owing to the fact that only members of the "ring" can get orders; that there is a disastrous shortage of training planes, which in turn causes many crashes; that 1,000 more wireless operators are needed. The government admitted a "foundation of truth" in these charges but left the matter in the hands of the new Air Minister, Sir Kingsley Wood. What is the trouble? Labor says, "Fundamentally the trouble is wrong organization." It points out that no member of the Air Council except the Under Secretary has any practical experience; that the Department of Supply and Organization is shot through with jealousies and friction "amounting almost to a state of war"; and that the constant changes in details of design have paralyzed production. The so-called "crankshaft bottle-neck" has further held up production. Only two factories produce the particular kind of crankshaft needed, and any lag there delays manufacture everywhere.

Then there is the matter of profiteering, of which more later. The government is said to be paying $1,500 per plane as "management expenses" in addition to footing the bill for the net cost of the plane. In figuring net costs it is charged that the good old "swindle sheet" has been pressed into heavy service. Commander Fletcher declared in the House that one aircraft firm charged the government for forty-three fitters while actually it employed only six. All this is familiar stuff in war contracts everywhere.

The aircraft companies, backed by the government, have a different story. On any and every occasion they scream "labor sabotage." In a dozen different shops wires have been cut and water and gas tanks have been punctured, and government officials have solemnly blamed labor. But labor denies the charge categorically. It insists that the damage was caused by unskilled workers brought into the plants to increase profits and break the power of the unions. Though thousands of skilled engineers are unemployed, the government has tried to persuade the Amalgamated Engineering Union that in the interest of patriotism it should ignore the union rules and permit the speed-up and the dilution of the working force. The A. E. U., a class-conscious and left-wing organization, has not yielded to this official pressure, and strikes have not been infrequent in the aircraft industry. Labor insists that the charge of sabotage is a smoke screen to hide the inferior quality of the planes and to enable the aircraft companies to satisfy their greed and disrupt the unions.

While this controversy was raging, it was discovered that Britain was carrying on an extensive export of aircraft. For the years 1935, 1936, and 1937 the figures are 543, 448, and 513, respectively, and for the first four months of 1938, 106. A large proportion of these were military planes. Aircraft engines by the hundreds have also been exported, all with official approval. This has resulted in rather embarrassing situations. On March 2, for example, the Under Secretary of the Air Ministry gave official approval to these exports, though on the previous day the Postmaster General had complained that certain mail services could not be provided because the needed planes could not be obtained in Britain. Pertinent questions about the destination of these exports have been simply ignored. When the Under Secretary was asked in the House, "Have [these planes] been sent to countries which can use them against us?" he did not reply, and the Speaker called the next question. In the last six months British war material of all kinds, in spite of the apparent shortage at home, has been exported to thirty-two different countries.

When criticism of the air muddle became strong and apprehension general, the government decided to buy abroad, particularly in Canada and the United States. The first order for 400 planes valued at $25,000,000 was recently placed here, and more orders are expected. Britain is interested in various American planes, but chiefly in the Boeing "flying fortress" and similar big bombers. These super-bombers traveled 2,500 miles, non-stop, in South America, across the Andes, and almost 2,700 miles from Florida to Peru. Since the distance between Newfoundland and Ireland is only 2,000 miles, these planes could be stored in Canada and flown across the Atlantic when needed. Of course the given distances do not represent the fighting radius of a loaded bomber. In no case does that as yet approach 1,000 miles.

Meanwhile Windsor in Canada, right next to Detroit, and Toronto, another close neighbor, are being mentioned as locations for the new Canadian munitions industry. There is talk of a $45,000,000 order from Britain; already the John Inglis Company of Toronto is working on 12,000 Czech Bren light machine-guns, valued at $8,000,000, for Britain and Canada. This Canadian munitions industry, which is to include aircraft plants also, could easily nullify the effects of an American war-time embargo, particularly if American branch factories were established in Canada and if there were no restriction on the import of raw materials.

The government's air-raid precautions have been headlined in the press and discussed in Parliament for years, partly in support, partly in ridicule. Efforts were first concentrated on defense against gas. Millions of gas masks

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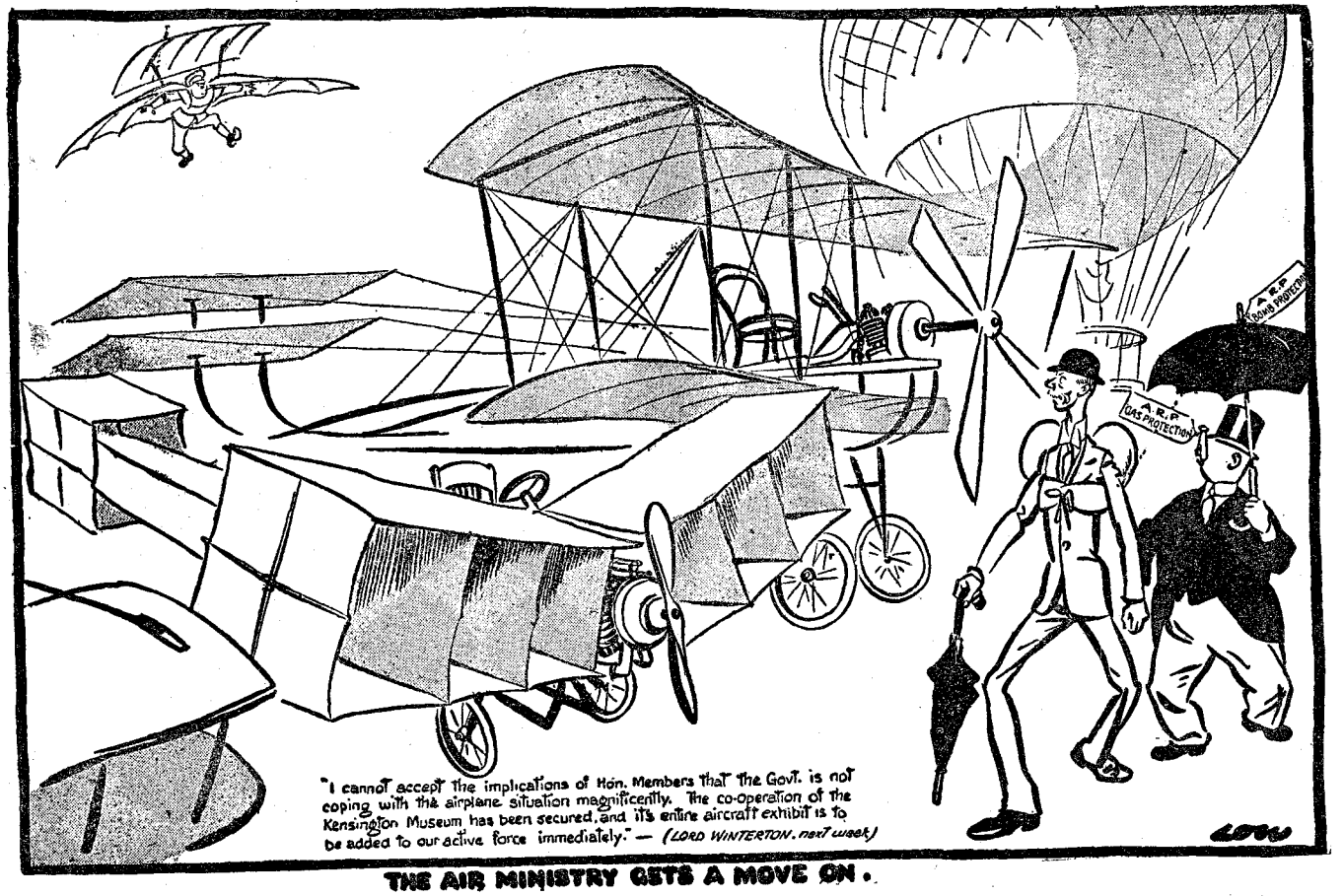
were provided free of charge and instruction provided in their use. Pamphlets were distributed telling the people what to do. Some classic sections in these told how to gas-proof rooms by pasting paper over cracks in the walls and around the windows. Dramatic advice was given in regard to clothing contaminated by mustard gas: "There must be no mock modesty. Take off your clothes. Carry them at arm's length to the nearest cleansing station. You will be washed and treated and given clean clothes to go home with." But soon these measures were held up to scorn and ridicule. General J. F. C. Fuller declared: "I consider that gas masks will prove a godsend. . . . Once they are adjusted, they will prevent those wearing them from shrieking and moving freely, and if they half suffocate their wearers, panic will be half suffocated in its turn."

A group of Cambridge scientists now entered the fray with two pamphlets showing that "gas-proof" rooms would not keep gas out for long. Supported by Professor J. B. S. Haldane, who had been in Spain and seen modern war at first hand, they went on to declare that the gas danger was secondary to that of explosive bombs. They pointed out that these bombs "went through six or seven floors of concrete before bursting on the lower floors," and that "people were killed 450 yards away from the spot where the bombs fell." What was needed, they said, was bomb-proof shelters and dispersion of the population.

The Spanish and Far Eastern bombings finally changed the official attitude. Sir Samuel Hoare was compelled to admit that "recent events seem to show that the risk from high explosive bombs is greater than from gas." After spending millions on anti-gas measures the government now faces the need of spending another $2,500,000,000 on bomb-proof shelters. This it is unwilling to do. Instead, it is suggesting to the people that they dig trenches in their back yards and if necessary in the parks. Such crude measures are effective against small bombs, except in cases of a direct hit, and they prevent the trapping of hundreds in tenements.

Failure in airplane production and a false start in air-raid precautions have been capped by the profiteering of the arms makers. The *Economist* pointed out recently that for the thirty most important arms firms profits had increased from less than $20,000,000 in 1934 to $58,750,000 in 1937, that is, nearly 200 per cent. Vickers' profits rose from $3,887,375 in 1932 to $10,040,160 in 1937; Cammell-Laird's from $297,760 to $1,510,435; Thomas Firth and John Brown's from $73,435 to $4,063,410. Aircraft companies' profits show a similar rise. De Havilland Aircraft recorded a profit of $315,000 in 1933, of $1,065,000 in 1937; Fairey Aviation's profits rose from $235,000 in 1933 to $1,240,000 in 1937; Handley Page's net profit climbed from $100,000 in 1933 to $500,000 in 1936. Dividend payments are high, and special bonuses for share-holders are frequent.

Stanley Baldwin declared in 1935: "I am certainly determined . . . that in the efforts which we regard as


"I cannot accept the implications of Hon. Members that the Govt. is not coping with the airplane situation magnificently. The co-operation of the Kensington Museum has been secured, and its entire aircraft exhibit is to be added to our active force immediately." — (LORD WINTERTON, next week)
A.R.P. GAS PROTECTION
A.R.P. GAS PROTECTION
LOW

THE AIR MINISTRY GETS A MOVE ON.

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necessary for the nation for the next two years there shall be no profiteering." But the real Tory attitude was revealed by a rather sensational occurrence. R. R. Stokes, managing director of Ransomes and Rapier, Labor M. P. from Ipswich and World War artilleryman, offered to make shells for the government without profit. The directors of his company did not like the munitions business, but having been approached by the government with shell orders they decided to accept these on a strictly non-profit basis. It was a bona fide offer which would have saved the government 6*s*. 8*d*. on a 21*s*. 6*d*. shell. But the offer was rejected. Mr. Stokes suggested in explanation that "if there were no profits to be made it would alter the minds of a great number of industrialists and bankers toward these [war] preparations." By its refusal of Stokes's offer the government showed that it agreed with his analysis.

To this widespread profiteering must be added the neat haul made by the speculators who had advance notice of the armament plans several years ago. The *Daily Herald* has estimated these stock profits at $190,000,000. Two months before the publication of the official White Paper on rearmament, the decision to rearm was known in the right places, and plenty of hay was made while the sun shone.

Neville Chamberlain is trying to persuade the labor unions to be "patriotic" and to put all their efforts behind the armament program. He is doing nothing, however, about the profiteers. Thus far the labor unions have not responded to the Premier's appeal. The Labor Party and its trade unions have approved the armament plans, but they disapprove vehemently of Chamberlain's foreign policy. They do not want to aid a government which is friendly to the fascist powers. The same engineering unions which have refused to submit to the speed-up and to disregard their union rules are using their spare time to build trucks and other implements for Loyalist Spain. As long as that gulf divides the British government from its munitions workers, there will be only half-hearted support for the huge arms program.

The C. I. O. in Crisis

BY EDWARD LEVINSON

THE Committee for Industrial Organization has performed as sensationally in depression as in the prosperous months of 1936 and 1937. It has maintained wage standards—for workers in both C. I. O. and A. F. of L. and for large sections of the unorganized—despite ten months of falling production and prices, a feat never accomplished in previous depressions. When President Roosevelt spoke out against pay cuts last January and again in his "fireside talk" of June 24, he acted on the initiative and with the support of the C. I. O.

Early in January the Administration seemed to favor both price and wage deflation. Myron Taylor of United States Steel, Ernest T. Weir of National Steel, Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, and other owners of industry were called to the White House to be told by the President that prices must come down. Soon afterward Taylor requested a conference with the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee of the C. I. O. He met Philip Murray, its chairman, and John L. Lewis in New York and asked that the steel union accept a wage cut in its new contract. The S. W. O. C. rejected the demand.

Negotiations between United States Steel and the S. W. O. C. continued almost to the expiration of the contract late in February. Meanwhile, taking the bull by the horns, the C. I. O. conferred with the President and outlined its objections to wage reductions as a recovery effort. The President suggested that a joint committee of labor, industry, and economic experts meet to tackle the problem. Lewis, Murray, Owen D. Young of General Electric, Thomas W. Lamont of J. P. Morgan and Company, A. A. Berle, and Rexford G. Tugwell conferred for two weeks. Lamont and Young were persuaded to join in a recommendation to the President that no effort be made by industry or by government to disturb the wage structure. The President agreed, and his declaration that he had no sympathy with wage reductions followed.

The C. I. O. immediately gathered the fruit of its forthright action. United States Steel and its subsidiaries renewed their agreements and left the wage scale intact. True, a twenty-day clause was included which would give the corporation an opportunity to open negotiations—and eventually cut wages; but there seemed to be a tacit understanding between the C. I. O. and "Big Steel" that wages would not be cut unless "Little Steel," which opposed the C. I. O., led the way and thus obtained a competitive advantage. Ten months have passed since the new depression set in; for three months the new C. I. O.–"Big Steel" contracts have been in force, but "Little Steel" has not yet dared to cut wages and give its employees a graphic demonstration of what it means to be unprotected by a union contract. By June 11, 472 steel companies had extended their S. W. O. C. contracts.

News stories originating in "Big Steel" circles during the last fortnight indicate a new effort to test the temper

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of the C. I. O. on wage cuts. But the circulation of the stories before any formal move had been made to reopen the wage issue gave Lewis and the C. I. O. an opportunity to start a back-fire. The President proceeded to make the happy assumption that wage cuts would not follow the new price cuts (which merely standardized rate reductions in effect for months), and Lewis is reported to have served notice on "Big Steel" that the C. I. O. does not consider wage-slashing in order. The issue is still unsettled, but the hope of continued resistance to wage deflation rests exclusively in the C. I. O.

Wyndham Mortimer

The automobile workers' section of the C. I. O. was forced to take more drastic steps in the fight against wage cuts. The Federal Screw Company of Detroit, a feeder for several automobile corporations, was selected to test the depression strength of the United Automobile Workers. The West Side Local, led by Walter Reuther, fought off a reduction of 10 cents an hour by recourse to a strike. No other automobile or parts manufacturer has seen fit to emulate Federal Screw's effort. The strike was a tonic for the automobile union, beset by unemployment and internal differences. Contracts have been renewed with both General Motors and Chrysler.

The United Rubber Workers have obtained wage increases from some smaller companies and maintained standards at Goodrich, Firestone, and Goodyear in Akron. Goodrich, in March, demanded that the workers take a 17½ per cent cut and give up their six-hour day. The union defeated both proposals, and in May the company signed its first contract with the U. R. W. An accumulation of grievances at Goodyear brought a strike late in May, which ended with a promise by the company to enter into negotiations for a signed agreement. The Textile Workers' Organizing Committee has been unable to halt wage deflation in woolens but has maintained schedules in the cotton, rayon, and carpet sections of the textile industry.

Choosing their battlegrounds cautiously, other C. I. O. unions have made some gains. The United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers have won exclusive bargaining rights in seven General Electric plants. The American Communications Association obtained a total raise of $600,000 a year for 10,000 Postal Telegraph employees. The Federation of Flat Glass Workers has signed contracts maintaining wage scales for 20,000 workers. In Texas the C. I. O. farm hands' union warded off wage cuts which would have brought down the pittances of 9,000 pecan shellers from $2.20 to $1.65 a week. In the coal-mining and needle-trades industries, covered by the three mainstays of the C. I. O., there has been no suggestion of wage cuts.

But the C. I. O.'s phenomenal achievement in maintaining wage scales has not spared it the problems which depressions inevitably force on labor unions. To these have been added special problems growing out of the warfare with the A. F. of L. and the task of finding adequate leadership for the great armies of newly organized unionists. Bound up with the difficulty of leadership is the complication, shared by the A. F. of L., of a drive by the Communist Party to consolidate and enlarge the positions it took during the great upheaval of 1937.

The A. F. of L. is pressing its war on the C. I. O. and demanding virtual surrender as the price of peace because, the federation insists, the C. I. O. unions have become mere shells. Primarily, this is a case of wishful thinking. To an extent it is based on the A. F. of L. principle that per capita payments make the union. The A. F. of L. makes the further allegation—heinous in the eyes of the "practical" craft unionists—that the United Mine Workers are footing most of the C. I. O. bills.

The C. I. O. has not published an itemized statement of its income, and it is therefore not possible to say what funds each of its thirty-nine affiliated unions is contributing. Yet even if there is some substance in the A. F. of L.'s charges, the craft unionists should be reminded of their own financial practices. The A. F. of L. has issued no financial or membership statistics since January 8, when the membership was said to total 3,468,885. For months before, weekly reports of gains had been issued, and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that expansion ceased in December.

Moreover, if the A. F. of L. insists that the action of the United Mine Workers in opening its purse to other C. I. O. unions is an indictment of the C. I. O., it must be pointed out that the federation itself has been a parasite on its small federal unions, which pay a per capita tax of 35 cents a month as compared with the 2 cents of the internationals. Analysis of its annual reports shows that the federation would constantly be in the red were it not for this disproportionate assessment.

Most of the C. I. O. unions are less than five years old. They have not had decades in which to build up financial resources, and the struggles of 1937 consumed virtually all their income. Nevertheless, the C. I. O. unions in December of 1937 and the first three months of 1938 actually increased their per capita payments over the earlier months of 1937. The C. I. O. has a staff of 244 full-time workers, more than the A. F. of L. ever

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had except during its 1937 war on the C. I. O. Moreover, the C. I. O. is meeting its obligations from current income. Loans from the U. M. W. have become progressively smaller. In February the miners lent the C. I. O. only $20,000; in March they found it unnecessary to advance any funds, and the committee wound up the month with an operating balance of $17,000. During the four months ending in March, the most recent period for which figures are available, all but five of the thirty-nine national and international unions affiliated with the C. I. O. operated without subsidy from the committee. The total of loans to all was $19,000.

While the new C. I. O. unions may not be able to withstand the effects of the depression as well as most of the older A. F. of L. unions, the C. I. O. will regain its members more quickly and on a larger scale when industry picks up. The C. I. O.'s following is in the mass-production industries employing thousands, while the A. F. of L., with its higher dues and craft lines, must appeal to the hundreds in the smaller industries. The C. I. O. will have another advantage. Its unions are far more active than A. F. of L. organizations in helping the unemployed to obtain relief allowances, work on PWA projects, and compensation under the social-security law. In the late summer of 1937 the C. I. O. impressed upon its affiliates the importance of cooperating in the administration of unemployment-insurance agencies. As the rolls of the jobless grew longer, it urged the creation of uniform local machinery to win relief and WPA work for unemployed C. I. O. members. The unions were also prevailed upon to keep their unemployed members on their rolls.

Communist activities have caused serious difficulties in two C. I. O. unions, the United Automobile Workers and the National Maritime Union, both important sections of the new labor movement. Symptoms of the problem are also appearing in other organizations, and their spread might lead to disaffections of which the A. F. of L. would take advantage. This does not mean, however, that Communist activity represents a major aspect of the growth of the C. I. O. The charge is made that the Communists would establish totalitarian unions as vehicles for the execution of party policy and as recruiting stations for party membership. The avowed intention of the Communists to drive all "Trotskyites, Lovestonites," and other dissenters from the labor movement and their free translation of "Trotskyite" as anybody who opposes the Communist Party lend credence to this charge, which is further supported by some of their actions. The Communists hailed a proposal made by Richard T. Frankensteen in the automobile union to abolish all factions—but significantly said nothing about abolishing the party's industrial units. They favored Frankensteen's proposal, in May, that members of the U. A. W. should cease urging any program except that of the international executive board. The deck division of the N. M. U., at a meeting attended by a small minority of the membership, approved a resolution directing that charges be filed against all members "concerned" with a so-called "rank-and-file" sample ballot which listed candidates for union office as Communist or non-Communist. Not satisfied with this proscription of a type of electioneering common in many unions, the N. M. U. *Pilot* suggested that distributors of the *Rank and File Pilot,* a paper opposing the policies of the union administration, ought to be dealt with by violence. Continuing, it said: "A few bleating voices, under the guise of 'democracy' and 'freedom of expression' are still raised, but the membership have shown that they are too smart for such catch phrases." The *Pilot* editors misjudged the temper of the membership, and the Communists in the N. M. U. are paying for their arrogance. The "rank-and-file" movement, defying suppression, appears to have won enough votes in the election completely to checkmate the Communists in a union which they had imagined they controlled.

Local 16, a Communist-dominated local of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, sought to clamp down on minority opinion by decreeing that any member who took part in "the publication and distribution, directly or indirectly, of points of view . . . which are in opposition to the action taken by this membership" were to be subject to punishment. The resolution aimed at depriving a minority group of its right to present its views to delegates to a forthcoming convention of the international. The international officers of the Office and Professional Workers showed they were of one mind with the would-be dictators of Local 16 by bringing about the "reorganization" of Local 34, in San Francisco, which had recently elected officers critical of the international administration. Harry Bridges's action in helping to break up Local 34 does not diminish the force of the charge that he is not above factional interests. The net result of the San Francisco maneuvering has been to drive a substantial section of Local 34's members back into the A. F. of L.

Homer Martin

As a result of differences in the automobile union President Homer Martin suspended five board members, including Frankensteen and Wyndham Mortimer, reputedly a Communist. The alliance between Frankensteen and Mortimer is an inexplicable one. For almost a

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year the Communists, as part of the opposition "unity" group, had been attacking Frankensteen and Martin. Then, early in May, the Communists abandoned the "unity" candidate for secretary of the Michigan C. I. O. council and made common cause with their erstwhile enemy. Together Frankensteen and his new allies hoped to displace Martin. The attempt failed, and all twenty-four U. A. W. board members affixed their signatures to a new "harmony" program.

Recently, however, Frankensteen, who has persuaded himself that John L. Lewis looks with favor on his ambition to take over Martin's post, has renewed his efforts. Taking advantage of the absence from Detroit of Martin and two of his supporters, and of the illness of Walter Reuther, an opponent of both Martin and Frankensteen, the new alliance tried to turn a routine board meeting into a reconsideration of the "harmony" program, which would have led to the eventual ousting of Martin. Martin outmaneuvered his opponents by having his followers stay away from the meeting, which thus lacked a quorum, and by summoning a meeting in Washington a few days later, when he would have his full strength in attendance. He then retaliated with the suspensions, charging violations of the "harmony" program. The drive on Martin appears to have been inspired basically by Communist resentment of Martin's stand against collective security in the realm of international affairs and by Frankensteen's personal ambitions. A hopeful element in the situation is the stand of Walter Reuther, who opposed both Frankensteen's abortive palace revolution and Martin's suspension order. He emerges as the leader of the "unity" group, which, spared the further uncertain cooperation of the Communists, has the opportunity to offer the bewildered automobile workers a constructive program based on principle, not on personalities or extraneous political interests.

The prospects for peace between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. have not been increased by the A. F. of L.'s chartering of the Progressive Miners of America, a number of whose leaders are convicted dynamiters, as a national opponent of the U. M. W. Nor have they been improved by William Green's demagogic attack on the C. I. O. as responsible for the depression. A threatened bolt from the C. I. O. by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, on which the A. F. of L. counted heavily, has not materialized. A recent meeting of the executive board of the I. L. G. W. U. decided to continue affiliation with the C. I. O. and to postpone action on the proposal to set up the C. I. O. on a constitutional basis.

Though invitations have not yet been sent out, it seems inevitable that the C. I. O. will hold a convention in the fall. But this does not mean that it is not ready for peace. John L. Lewis has indorsed Sidney Hillman's declaration that the committee is ready to act on an honorable and constructive peace formula, but both men, with virtually unanimous support from the rest of the C. I. O., are acting on the theory that the best way to obtain that kind of peace is to build up the C. I. O. to a position where it can command guaranties that the new industrial unions will not be dismembered and that the A. F. of L. will cease its dog-in-the-manger attitude toward the mass-production workers of the nation.

Coming Revolt in the Desert

BY HERBERT SOLOW

ITALY'S recognition of the British claim to a 600-mile protectorate along the southern coast of Arabia, according to the London correspondent of the New York *Times,* was "a milestone in the defense of the Empire" since it enabled Britain without European opposition to "use her Royal Air Force bombers at Aden to 'keep order' within the protectorate, as she has done on a number of ruthless occasions," and tell "other acquisitive foreign nations to keep their hands off." Moreover, according to Prime Minister Chamberlain, Italy "will abstain from creating difficulties or embarrassments for His Majesty's government in the administration of Palestine." In return, Britain will work for recognition of Italy in Ethiopia and acknowledge Mussolini's "legitimate" interests in Palestine.

The agreement, the *Times* correspondent continued, bears "an uncanny resemblance to the treaties of pre-war years, in which rival imperialisms carved up remote parts of the world for their own economic or strategic advantage. And, just as in pre-war years, Britain and Italy will contend that their new agreement is a 'stabilizing' influence that will keep peace and order in turbulent lands." That "stabilizing" began ninety-nine years ago when Britain took Aden; but today all the Arab lands are, in the words of the Jerusalem correspondent of the *Times,* commenting on Palestine, "on the edge of a volcano." In addition to the old causes of conflict, rival empires must now reckon with that plague of all imperialisms, native "turbulence," perhaps revolt in the desert on a scale hitherto unknown.

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Last fall 400 delegates from Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Hejaz, and Egypt met near Damascus in an Arab National Congress. Despite clashes between pan-Arab (nationalist) and pan-Islamic (clerical-feudal) elements, the conference discussions crystallized in an affirmation of Palestine's Arab character, demands for an end of Jewish immigration and the immediate independence of a united Palestine, and secret instructions for action. The Palestine Arab High Committee, operating from Syria, is preaching *Jehad,* holy war. Filibustering bands have been organized, hidden presses have sent out propaganda, and arms have been secreted in Beirut, as was discovered in January, 1938. The Arab revolt in Palestine has grown steadily. Automobiles, trains, highways, bridges, buildings, pipe and telephone lines have been bombed and wrecked. The government has been vitally affected by the destruction of military property, raids on army posts, assassinations. Since July 7, 1937, when London proposed the partition of Palestine into a Jewish state, an Arab state, and a British corridor, there have been almost 400 deaths from violence, mostly of Jews.

In Trans-Jordan nationalist leaflets call for revolt; bombs have been found in the office of the pro-British Emir and have been thrown at state buildings in Irbid, Madaba, and Es Salt; Arabs have besieged the Hausa and Azoun police posts. Moreover, though London has denied a report that Saudi troops are massed on Trans-Jordan's border, the Foreign Office is uneasy about Mecca. In Syria, which anticipates an end of its mandated status next year, the Chamber president and other officials aid the Arab National Congress. Naji-el-Suedi, once exiled for participating in the Druse anti-French rising, has returned to politics, as have some of Colonel T. E. Lawrence's veterans. On April 23 political shootings occurred. Lebanon has witnessed repeated armed clashes as well as a general strike in the capital. In Iraq, formally allied to England, an apparently pan-Arab Cabinet, in power since the assassination of Premier Sidqi, has encouraged the anti-British press, sanctioned the return to Bagdad of Fauzi Kaukji, who once took up arms against the British, and criticized England's Trans-Jordan Emir.

Egypt has abolished extraterritorial courts and special exemptions of foreign interests from customs duties. Student strikes have brought traditional nationalist rebels again into action, and a grandson of Arabi Pasha, nationalist hero, has been charged with an attempt on the Premier's life. Two wings of the Wafd Party are engaged in a bitter struggle. The last election was marked by shootings. Premier Mahmoud has had to reshuffle his Cabinet twice in his first few months in office.

In Morocco, 95 per cent Moslem, the Popular Reform Party is a growing force. Late last year 1,000 nationalists armed with primitive weapons besieged state buildings at Khemisset, and several thousand others attacked Port Lyautey police. Since then clashes have occurred at Meknes, Fez, Rabat, Casablanca, El Menzel, and elsewhere. In Algeria, where the last Francophile Grand Mufti was assassinated, there have been disturbances since 1935; the People's Party, the leading opposition force, has worked underground here since March, 1937. February saw fighting at Biskra. In Tunis the Liberal Constitutional (Neodestourian) Party, led by native officials and students, leads the agitation against French rule. It called a one-day strike in November to express solidarity with the nationalists of Algeria and Morocco. Fighting broke out at Bizerta in January; demonstrations at Hammanlit, Djerba, and Tunisia in April ended in clashes with Zouaves and thirteen deaths.

French colonial officials say there are interconnections among nationalists from Morocco to Syria, via Egypt and Palestine. Letters and visits have been exchanged by native dignitaries of Egypt, Tunis, Palestine, and other regions. It is reported that the recent Egyptian visit of the Aga Khan, Indian Moslem leader, was related to an effort to turn the movement from pan-Arab nationalist into pan-Islamic religious channels, perhaps by restoring the Caliphate in the person of the King of Egypt.

The French right has made the absurd charge that a revolutionary Moscow-Communist-Socialist plot is afoot. But when Léon Blum was in office, he justified the confidence of the London *Times* that his party would not go "behind the backs of the existing hierarchy in the colonies." And since the Kremlin and Comintern strive to vitalize the Franco-Soviet pact, French and African Communists support the colonial regime, denounce Arab rebels as Hitlerites, and are in turn denounced by the Arabs. A similar situation prevails in Palestine, where a group of Communist Party members has just bolted, charging the Comintern with abandoning the revolution and the interests of both the Arab and the Jewish masses.

It would also be absurd to contend that the Near East–North African disturbances are a fascist product. It is true that evidences of Italian (and German) activity in Anglo-French Arab regions, particularly Palestine and Tunis, have multiplied during the past year. And Mr. de Rothschild recently insinuated in the Commons that Mussolini is now subsidizing the exiled Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, a clerical-feudal rather than a nationalist leader, who has apparently left the British pay roll. (Mussolini learned the technique of subsidies—on the receiving end—when he took money from Marcel Cachin to campaign for Italian entry into the World War.) But the fact remains that the Arab national movement has an old tradition whose militancy has been preserved by, among others, the former followers of Abd-el Krim in Morocco and Lawrence in Arabia. A British Royal Commission has admitted that "to imagine that Italian propaganda engendered" the Palestine trouble is to repeat an old error. Though its opportunities have

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been increased by international tensions, the opposition is of native growth.

Economic conditions have of late intensified the discontent. In North Africa native merchants have long opposed prevailing customs regulations—restrictive export quotas, pro-French import rules. The 1931 decline badly hurt Moroccan wheat, wine, and oil. Famine prevails in some regions, largely because of a rise in grain prices after a drought and the franc's fall. Large numbers of tribesmen live in *tekias,* a sort of relief concentration camp. Daily wages are as low as twenty francs in the Algerian chemical factories and twelve francs in the Moroccan mines. Palestine has been in a slump since 1935, partly because of the collapse of citrus prices. During 1937-38, according to the Palestine Economic Corporation's conservative figures, unemployment has increased between 10 and 12 per cent as a result of the decline in construction and industry.

Efforts are being made by the governments to allay Arab complaints. In North Africa unemployment, famine, farm, and mortgage relief has been projected; increased native participation in administration has been proposed; and the "Violette plan" offers citizenship to Algerian officers, university graduates, decorated workers and soldiers, and 400 selected merchants and landowners in each province. In Palestine the government, in the face of the mandate provisions, has ruled that immigration of "persons of Jewish race" must depend on Britain's view of political expediency and has begun a project to irrigate Arab lands in Beersheba and the Jordan Valley. Since the extent of the French appeasement moves is still uncertain, their effect cannot yet be judged, but it is already plain that Palestine Arabs feel little gratitude for British concessions, which follow the partition prescription and are consequently viewed as an anaesthetic preparatory to surgery.

Both governments are not only making concessions but applying intensified disciplinary measures. London has stationed in Palestine an unusual number of troops, among them the famous Black Watch, and has appointed as High Commissioner Sir Harold MacMichael, who learned to rule in Tanganyika. He has Sir Charles Teggart, "the strong man of Bengal" as police chief, and now a tough new troop commander in General R. M. Raining. A triple barbed-wire fence and pill boxes are being built along the Syrian border. Curfew has been instituted, guards have been placed on common carriers, cafes closed, and newspapers suppressed for such crimes as "causing despondency" or naming the High Commissioner's lunch guests. The government has removed the once-trusted Grand Mufti from the presidency of the Moslem Supreme Council and from the General Waqf Committee, as chairman of which he controlled some $300,000 of annual church revenue. After the Lydda airport was fired by Arabs, troops began collecting from local residents a fine of $20,000. Punitive police details are stationed in Arab villages, whose residents must pay their upkeep. At Daharia troops destroyed Arab houses as an official reprisal. After a Galilee assassination four Arab leaders were deported to the Seychelles; others, led by the Arab Party's president, avoided arrest by fleeing to Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt. Several hundred Arab politicals, including prominent clerical and communal leaders, are in an Acre concentration camp. Sheik Farhan al Sadi, an influential seventy-year-old Arab politician, and half a dozen other leaders have been hanged.

In North Africa the French have seized Arab papers, banned political meetings, and outlawed not only Arab political organizations but also the Bizerta trade-union council and the Sadiki (Tunis) College. Berber and Foreign Legion detachments have occupied the Fez Medina, the sacred intellectual hub of North Africa. A state of siege prevails in Tunis. Several hundred prominent nationalists have been jailed or deported to Equatorial Africa, the southern desert, or the Atlas Mountains. Resident-General Auguste Nogues, a veteran of the war with Abd-el Krim, is in immediate charge in Morocco, but over him and also over the Algerian and Tunisian governors is a newly instituted North African Coordinator. On the Coordinator's recommendation the colonial defense budget and African air force have been expanded. The powers of the army are to be increased, and the police of all North Africa are to work in closer cooperation.

The fascist-dominated regions—Spanish Morocco, Italian Tripoli, Cyrenaica, Eritrea, Ethiopia, and Somaliland—are outside the scope of this article owing to the censorship of news from these areas. It may be assumed that native nationalism fights on despite repression. For example, reports from Djibouti indicate that Ethiopia is experiencing economic depression, widespread passive resistance, and considerable fighting, especially in the north. Attilio Teruzzi, Italian Under Secretary for Africa, recently admitted numerous risings.

It seems clear that the Anglo-Italian agreement can be no firm dam to the rising tide of native opposition in the Near East and North Africa. The region's manifold problems are seen to be more and more approaching a common nexus, angry streams racing to a troubled sea. "Until recently," the London *Times* has regretfully commented," pan-Arabism was a popular subject for Arab essayists rather than a live issue for Arab politicians. Revolt in the desert is a possibility with which the commanders of the French Foreign Legion, the Italian Black Shirts, and the British Black Watch all reckon. By offers of concessions and show of force, the imperial millers seek to canalize popular anti-imperialism toward their respective mill-wheels. Each risks the whole status quo lest a rival change part of it.

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In the Wind

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE WALLACE is considering a plan to ship large amounts of the American wheat surplus to China. Although the scheme is not ready for publication, Wallace has privately indorsed it; the Chinese, of course, would get it on the easiest possible terms. An even more important cotton deal is also contemplated.

SCIENCE NOTE: Dr. Walter H. Eddy is professor of physiological chemistry at Columbia University. On June 9 Dr. Eddy assured the annual convention of the National Confectioners' Association that candy had immense value as an "energy pick-up" and should be a part of everyone's diet. Two days later he addressed a meeting sponsored by the Tea Association of the United States; he assured his audience that "most adults profit rather than lose by the use of tea and coffee as means to mild stimulation and relaxation."

THIS STORY is rapidly circulating in Washington now. Carl Byoir, well-known public-relations counsel, handles accounts on all sides; not long ago he was American publicity agent for Hitler, now he is "selling" China here. This versatility recently created an incident in the pro-Chinese movement. A delegation from New York was planning to visit Washington to urge an embargo against Japan. Byoir opposed the move, insisting that it was a "communist" venture and that pro-China men in the State Department agreed with him. To establish his point he went out of the room and telephoned a high official of the department. On his return he announced that the official opposed the delegation's visit. But the delegates went anyway. In Washington the same official was asked if he had really discouraged the move. "No," he replied, "but I didn't know whether Byoir was representing Japan or China that day; so I decided to be non-committal."

A SUPER-METHOD for detecting pro-union workers is being quietly tested by some West Coast employers. A "secret" questionnaire is sent to workers, supposedly to obtain factual information. It asks their opinion on various labor issues, and their answers reveal their attitude to the union. But the workers are not required to sign their names, and so presumably no one can determine how an individual votes. What they are not told is that each card contains an invisible number in lemon juice. When a hot iron is passed over the code number it becomes visible. The worker's name is then on file for black lists.

ACCORDING TO an anonymous British journalist in Prague, Konrad Henlein is doomed to the fate of Seyss-Inquart. This man insists that Henlein has lost favor with Hitler, that he is rapidly becoming a mere figurehead, and that he will be swept away "at an appropriate moment." He maintains that Hans Krebs, the "fugitive mystery man," is slated to succeed Henlein. Krebs, a Sudeten German, escaped from Czechoslovakia to Germany when the Nazis were outlawed. He was given German citizenship and elected to the Reichstag; he returned to Czechoslovakia recently.

THIS WILL undoubtedly be news to Washington—and to Ambassador de los Rios. According to the *Heraldo de Aragon*, two representatives of American Catholics, Padre Gabriel Salinas and Dr. Duncan, of Omaha, Nebraska, recently visited insurgent Spain. They reported there that "the first thing De los Rios did on arriving in Washington was to pick up a hammer and smash an image of the Virgin of the Kings, the patron saint of Seville, which stood in the courtyard of the embassy building."

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY is making a high-pressure drive for funds, and a current brochure carries pictures of noted alumni. "They are Columbia," says the appeal, "these living products of a university which taught them, furnished them with every facility for self-improvement, and gave them to the world." In the gallery of pictures appears the face of the playwright Morrie Ryskind, '17 Journalism. Ryskind was expelled in 1917 for writing verses that President Butler didn't like.

AN OFFICIAL of the University of Chicago's International House was recently asked whether foreign crises were making a serious impact on the house. "Yes," he replied, "and last Christmas Day was the best example. On that day a Russian resident received word that his brother had been shot in the purge, the German residents demanded a separate room for their Christmas dinner because they didn't want to eat with Jews, a Spaniard insisted on moving to another floor because a pro-Franco student was in the next room, and the Japanese and Chinese kept smiling politely at each other—so politely that I knew a blow-up was coming."

NEWSSTANDS WERE deluged last week with 400,000 copies of a magazine called *Jewish Crisis*, which described—in words and pictures—anti-Semitism at home and abroad. It listed no address, no board of editors, no sponsorship except "Candid Features, Inc." Rumors grew swiftly about the paper's origin; although it denounced anti-Semitism as "un-American," several Jewish newsdealers refused to handle it, and several prominent Jews expressed fear that it had anti-Semitic backing. In fact the magazine was created by four young journalists who were fired by *Sports Illustrated* last fall. Two of them are Yale graduates, and the editorial work was done at the Yale Club. Denying any intent to be mysterious, they explain that they listed no address because they had no office and didn't want to be linked with Yale. They insist that they wanted to "help the Jews," that their backers have only a commercial interest in the venture, that the magazine—if it lives—will discuss a different subject in each issue. And they contend that if there is any anti-Semitism in the current issue, it's so subtle they can't recognize it.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind—either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item. The award for the best item submitted in June goes to Henry Beetle Hough of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, for the story printed above about Columbia and Morrie Ryskind.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Issues and Men

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

WHAT a pity it is that in the debate which is now going on over what role the United States should play in the existing world situation we cannot agree on an exact definition of terms. Take the word "isolationist" for example. It is being applied to those of my school of thought as a term of opprobrium, as if we believed in cutting ourselves off entirely from the rest of the world and thinking of ourselves alone. This is not the case at all. The so-called isolationists are isolationists *only as to war,* and are opposed only to such measures of international cooperation as would lead to war. We favor increased cooperation at Geneva with the International Labor Office and all the philanthropic and reform activities of the League of Nations. We favor an immediate economic conference devoted specifically to the removal as rapidly as possible of the economic causes of war, especially to the lowering of tariffs everywhere and the abolition of all other trade barriers, such as quotas, embargos, export bounties, and the like. Some of us even favor an autonomous International Commercial Organization, similar in structure and function to the International Labor Office, to promote a just and peaceful development of world economy. Needless to say, we favor international action to outlaw bombers and submarines.

Indeed, we urge a new and really democratic League of Nations in which all nations shall be on equal terms and in which there shall be no obligatory, forcible sanctions against offending nations. We desire that the whole question of colonies be discussed at a specially called conference, not for the purpose of returning some to Germany, but in order to establish the principle of international control with free access to raw materials for all. I need not stress how much we favor a world disarmament conference; none would be necessary today if the so-called democratic nations—with which we are so earnestly urged to make common cause—had lived up to the solemn promises to disarm which they gave to the world at Versailles as their excuse for disarming Germany. There is no form of activity, I repeat, in which we are not willing to cooperate with all nations, save only where such cooperation would set us on the road to war, or give to such governments as those of Chamberlain in England and Daladier in France authority to go ahead with good or bad policies, relying upon the pledge that we shall stand by them if through follies or blunders or good deeds they get themselves into war.

We are aware of the contention that there will be no danger of war if we only say that we will stand by England, France, and Russia if they are attacked—this on the ground that the dictators would never dare attack such an overwhelming superiority in force. But we surely cannot give that assurance to the three countries named without being willing to back it up by force if necessary. We are convinced that an announced policy of collective security with those three countries would put us squarely in the battle of armaments now going on and make us a part of the game of power politics now being played again in Europe. But here the advocates of collective security say that we misrepresent them; so evidently at this point new and more careful definitions are needed.

I wish we could describe Russia, France, and England by some other term than democracies. Russia is a bloodily self-purging dictatorship; France, the most democratic of them, is so under the thumb of Great Britain, that aristocratic, capitalist, imperialist democracy, that it is willing to give the *coup de grâce* to republican Spain by closing its frontiers to the Loyalists. This is an act so undemocratic, so base, and so perfidious as to deserve the bitterest condemnation even from Americans, who have certainly not covered themselves with honor in their attitude toward Spain. That Chamberlain should insist upon France's doing this is another proof of the utterly heartless and ruthless way in which he pursues his shameful and stupid policy of keeping peace in Europe by wholesale surrenders to the dictators.

Indeed, Chamberlain seems determined to kill the collective-security movement in this country; he certainly will do so if after having destroyed Loyalist Spain he makes a bargain with Hitler. Has any British government in all history ever sunk so low? In the face of the murder of more than eighty British seamen by Italian and rebel bombs, he calmly declares that there is nothing that the British Lion can do about it. Formerly the Lion would have leaped at once. Chamberlain's refusal to act is not due to a sudden conversion to the doctrine of "Thou shalt not kill," a desire to seek justice and to protect British lives by decent, peaceful measures—by honesty, reliance upon moral laws, appeals to other countries to stand by the right—rather than by increased armaments. His is a course of cowardly compromise, of buying off the dictators and thereby confirming them in their wrongdoing and reinvigorating their failing powers. And that is the road to destruction and disaster—with or without collective security.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

FROM PROPAGANDA TO HISTORY

BY GAETANO SALVEMINI

THE Institute of Propaganda Analysis should advise its subscribers to read Dr. Megaro's fascinating book* in conjunction with Mussolini's official hagiography written by Signora Sarfatti, and the teachers of history in colleges and universities should give the same advice to their pupils. By comparing the two books, more than by listening to any abstract methodical instruction, they would learn the difference between forgery and truth, between propaganda and history.

Let us ask Signora Sarfatti what Mussolini's religious opinions were before he was the Duce of Fascism. In her book "The Life of Benito Mussolini" she states that her hero "seemed in the earliest period of anti-religious bent, without ever sinking into the banality of atheism." That is all. But if we read Dr. Megaro's book, we find that Mussolini was a more colorful character than Signora Sarfatti makes out. In 1904, when he was twenty-one years old, he maintained in the name of reason, science, evolution, and atheistic materialism that "God does not exist" and that "the morality of Christ leads to brutishness and cowardice and perpetuates misery." In October, 1909, in the town of Forli, the crowd, after listening to an address by Mussolini, smashed the windows of the bishop's palace, set fire to the wooden fence which surrounded a column surmounted by a statue of a Madonna, and destroyed the slabs of marble at the base of the column. In 1910 Mussolini maintained that Socialists should "avoid religious marriage, baptism of children, and all other religious ceremonies," and made the discovery that Christ "by making love to Mary Magdalene and to the wife of the good Pontius Pilate" had demonstrated that "it is possible to attain the glory of the heavens through the womb of a woman."

These facts and all the others that Dr. Megaro has unearthed do not cloud in any way the credit that Mussolini deserves for finding the road to Damascus and handing over eighty million pre-Roosevelt dollars to Pope Pius XI. Saint Luke's Gospel teaches that there is greater joy in heaven on account of a sinner who repents than of ninety-nine righteous men who do not need repentance. It was for this reason that of old anyone who wrote the life of a reprobate who had been converted strove to emphasize, nay to exaggerate, the sins of his hero in order to cause the triumph of faith to shine more brilliantly through the repentance. Signora Sarfatti reversed this method; she extenuated Mussolini's sins to the point of hiding them completely. But those who wish to measure the triumph of the church in its true proportions will be grateful to Dr. Megaro for having reestablished the truth.

If, in addition to the story of Mussolini's religious beliefs, one seeks from Signora Sarfatti the story of his political beliefs, one will learn that Mussolini from earliest childhood was fascinated by the story of Rome with its myths and legends: "Rome—that was the one word the boy would write continually on the margin of his lesson book, or carve with his penknife upon the benches"; "he sought comfort in his woes in Caesar and Tacitus and the 'Aeneid.'" Could a man who in his earliest childhood read Tacitus be aught but a great patriot when grown up? When he was living in Switzerland "the life taught him to love his country with a deeper love." When he went to Trent, an Italian city which was still a part of the Austrian Empire, he found that a group of Socialists there "were in sympathy with Austria and took their tune from Vienna." He therefore dissociated himself from them and joined the other group which combined Socialistic doctrine with Italian feelings. On account of his nationalistic activities he was put in jail in Trent and expelled from Austria. "It is clear that his stay in the Trentino was decisive in developing the nationalist tendencies which culminated in Fascism."

Very different is the story which Dr. Megaro has reconstructed with the help of documents. In the autumn of 1903 Mussolini, who had lived in Switzerland for a little more than a year as a Socialist agitator, returned to his native town for a few weeks; but since the time was approaching when he would have to perform his military service, he repaired to Switzerland again in January, 1904. In February he wrote that "there is indeed an infallible means of destroying from its foundations the infamous military constraint: desertion." In April, 1904, the Italian military authorities declared him to be a *renitente di leva,* an evader of military service, or, as the French put it, a *réfractaire.* In that same month of April, 1904, Mussolini was expelled from the Canton of Geneva, but the intervention of the Swiss Socialists saved him from being taken to the Italian frontier. He was allowed to remain in Canton Ticino because as an evader of military service in Italy he could not, according to in-

* "Mussolini in the Making." By Gaudens Megaro. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

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ternational law, be handed over to his own government.

In December, 1904, Mussolini gave up the plan to destroy the infamous military constraint by means of desertion, took advantage of a pardon granted by the Italian government to those who had failed to answer the army summons, came back to Italy, and in 1905 and 1906 served his regular term in the army. After completing his military service he plunged again into the Socialist movement. In 1909 he lived for eight months as a Socialist agitator in the city of Trent. "The proletariat," he wrote, "is anti-patriotic by definition and by necessity." He upheld the right of the Italians of Trentino to keep their Italian tongue and to get home rule against the pan-Germans of Tyrol. But the Socialists and Anarchists have always maintained that racial minorities have the right to keep their own language and culture and to enjoy home rule. Mussolini did not advocate the separation of Trentino from Austria and its annexation to Italy. This was an aspiration, though secret and remote, of the Italian Socialists of the Trentino, not of Mussolini. Mussolini's chief concern was social revolution. Signora Sarfatti's statement that Mussolini found two groups in Trent, one favorable to Austria and one to Italy, and that he joined the pro-Italian group against the pro-Austrian is sheer invention. When in September, 1909, the Austrian government ordered Mussolini's expulsion, it did not think of him as a nationalist but as an insolent revolutionary agitator.

A good many "social scientists" have gone in quest of the sources of Mussolini's political thought, as once upon a time explorers set out to discover the sources of the Nile. But they are wholly ignorant of the history of the Italian socialist movement and of Italian political thought and neglect to take into account chronology in noticing the manifestations of Mussolini's thought. As a consequence they discover nothing but blunders and pile up nonsense.

To the father of Mussolini, first an active Anarchist follower of Bakunin and then an active Socialist of the first hour, Dr. Megaro has devoted one of the most interesting chapters in his book. Between the writings of the father and those of the son—we mean the writings of Mussolini while he was still an extremist Socialist—there is a striking continuity. "Those who mumble about Mussolini's intellectual father," Dr. Megaro aptly writes, "be he Nietzsche or Sorel, would do well to pause and consider the influence of his real father." It is preposterous to trace to Sorel Mussolini's ideas on the necessity of violence. Mussolini was "a revolutionary child of that Romagna which abounded in rebels who almost instinctively understood the need for violence." When Sorel dissociated himself from the revolutionary syndicalist movement and joined the clerical-royalists of the Action Française (1908), anticipating a change which Mussolini was to make fourteen years later, Mussolini heaped upon him a Niagara Falls of abuse, of which Dr. Megaro gives some amusing specimens. This is one of the many revelations contained in his book.

Dr. Megaro also reduces to its just proportions, that is, to nothing, the impact which Pareto is said to have made on Mussolini. He proves that it is open to question whether Mussolini ever attended Pareto's lectures at the University of Lausanne, and that if he did attend them, it could only have been for a few weeks in the spring of 1904. Mussolini's notion of a revolutionary minority seizing power and overthrowing the bourgeoisie through violence was no doubt akin to Pareto's doctrine of the élite. But the proletarian élite, of which impecunious Mussolini considered himself a member, would supersede the bourgeois élite, whereas Pareto, having inherited from one of his uncles a good deal of money, had a deep worship for the profession of investor, and was angry against those bourgeois who did not care to protect that profession. Pareto wished the bourgeoisie to put up a ruthless resistance to an uncompromising socialism and to stamp it out. Since neither the bourgeoisie nor the Socialists were willing to follow his advice, he grouped them together in the same condemnation. Nor did Mussolini need to know Pareto's writings and lectures in order to cherish a ruthless socialism that should destroy the decaying bourgeoisie. The "Communist Manifesto" sufficed to school him, and the doctrine of the organized minority overthrowing the bourgeoisie by a *coup de main* was among the Socialists as old as old Blanqui. The conspiratory tradition was still alive in Romagna when Mussolini was born there and coincided perfectly with Blanqui's doctrines. Mussolini did not owe anything to Pareto. On the other hand, the doctrine of the élite under a form which could please the anti-democratic parties was not invented by Pareto. It came to him from Gaetano Mosca, a brilliant scholar who in 1896 had given a systematic elaboration to the doctrine of the organized minorities as "governing classes"—a more apt term than Pareto's élite. From 1921 onward Pareto saw in the Fascist movement that ruthless bourgeois anti-Socialist onslaught whose advent he had wished for twenty years before. It was not Pareto who taught Mussolini. It was Mussolini who fulfilled Pareto's wishes.

When Mussolini became Duce of Fascism, his hagiographers invented for him a family tree going back to the early Middle Ages and an intellectual genealogy in which Sorel, Pareto, Nietzsche, and many other highly placed personages were recruited to prepare the way for the redeemer. William James also got a niche in that pedigree. The intellectual genealogy no less that the family tree was false. For instance, Mussolini has never read one page of James. He only knows that James was a "pragmatist," and he thinks that that word means a man who does not care about ideologies and is only concerned with practical achievements. Therefore he boasts of being

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a disciple of William James, who would be horrified if he knew of that definition of pragmatism.

Yet when the smoke screen of official mystification has been dispelled, thanks to Dr. Megaro's painstaking and unimpeachable research, there emerges an amazing consistency that extends from Mussolini's infancy to his full maturity. The man who willed the Ethiopian War and the Spanish War is no other than that "restless and pugnacious little rogue" who more than once returned home with his head bleeding from a blow with a stone, stole decoy birds, struck at a companion but instead of hitting him hit a wall, hurt his knuckles and had to bandage his hand, and stabbed with a penknife another companion who had insulted him. Dr. Megaro reproduces a portrait of Mussolini at the age of fourteen. That youngster with crossed arms, sealed lips, protruding jaws, and defiant eyes is already the Duce of Fascism who appears before the crowds in Italy and is the delight of cartoonists outside Italy.

BOOKS

The Life of Fanny Kemble

FANNY KEMBLE. A PASSIONATE VICTORIAN. By Margaret Armstrong. The Macmillan Company. $3.

MISS ARMSTRONG has written a remarkable book, a first-rank biography. She had a fascinating subject, and she has portrayed Fanny Kemble with such skill and literary distinction, such charm and vividness, yet with such evident desire to be just, that we have here a historical study of great value. One perceives that Miss Armstrong has kept her own feelings in check, and one admires her wide knowledge of both American and English political and social conditions of the nineteenth century, which enables her to give so complete a picture of the scenes, on both sides of the Atlantic, in which Fanny Kemble moved.

Coming as it does just when we are in the middle of another effort, conscious or otherwise, to romanticize the antebellum South and to whitewash the institution of slavery, Miss Armstrong's study is particularly timely and worth while. For Fanny Kemble, the brilliant English actress, is one of the most important witnesses to what slavery really was on a Georgia rice plantation (through it now runs the main coast road to Florida traversed by hundreds of thousands of tourists every year). She arrived there as the young wife of the owner of hundreds of acres and of several hundred human beings—later sold when her husband went bankrupt. If there was any glamor in slavery, if the life was all charming and romantic as some would have us believe, Fanny Kemble, despite the prejudice against the institution with which she arrived at Butler's Island, would certainly have recorded it. Instead, she was so horrified by what she saw and dismayed by her inability to alter conditions, or to arouse her husband to philanthropic activity in behalf of those whose lives were in his hands, that her existence there became a dreadful nightmare. Slavery would probably have wrecked her marriage even if her husband's infidelity had not. She left him—to deal later a tremendous blow to slavery and to the cause of the Confederacy.

Her "Journal of a Residence on a Georgia Plantation in 1838-39," published during the Civil War, had a profound effect upon public sentiment in the North, and in Great Britain, where it was a "best-seller." Miss Armstrong brings out the fact that this volume was one of the reasons why the British government was deterred from recognizing the Confederacy—she wisely does not attempt to estimate the exact influence it wielded. The book was denounced in the South and in England, of course. Since the tale was unvarnished, exactly as she had written it during those two years when her emotions were stirred to their depths; since it called a spade a spade and dealt plainly with the sexual relations of white men and the black women who were entirely subject to their will and always beyond the law, where there was any law, Victorian mothers refused to allow their daughters to read so vile and demoralizing a book. The truth was too much for polite society, which in London sympathized so warmly with the Southern aristocracy and so ardently hoped for the triumph of the Confederacy.

Fanny Kemble herself was an extraordinary personality. Of the third generation of a famous actor family, Fanny had had no acting experience whatsoever, outside of some children's theatricals in a boarding-school in Paris, when her parents induced her to appear as Juliet in order to save the family finances and to rescue their Covent Garden Theater. At her first performance she was overcome with stage fright until the balcony scene. Then the divine fire possessed her, and she stood out as the foremost actress in England, the greatest since her aunt, Mrs. Siddons. London was at her feet. Yet with all her gifts life upon the stage never appealed to her. She was young and wanted to dance and be gay. If she liked the applause of her audience it never turned her head, and she was happy, indeed, when the hour came after her American tour to abandon the stage for marriage. Afterward she went back to renew her success, only again to leave the stage and to become a great Shakespearian reader in the days when readings were if anything more popular than stage performances. Said the New York *Times:* "No play can be as well rendered throughout as Mrs. Kemble reads it; we are bored by no miserable creatures in subordinate parts." Edward Everett Hale wrote: "Her power is *true expression,* not imitation. And so she strikes you with as much delight and even amazement when she is talking as when she is reading"; and Emerson burst out with: "What an abundance there is in her! She is Miranda, Queen Catherine, and many more at the same time."

Her talent was not limited to the stage, however. She wrote a play in verse, "Francis I," and in time saw it produced. Besides her "Journal" she wrote eight other books, many magazine articles, and much poetry. She adored nature, was a splendid horsewoman—she hoped she would die in a fall with her horse—a beautiful dancer, and altogether one of the most stimulating and interesting human beings. Even in her later years she was so fascinating that young

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men like Henry James and Hamilton Aïdé considered it the greatest honor and pleasure to escort her, especially to the theater. Henry James wrote of her after her death in 1893 at the age of eighty-three: "She was one of the rarest of women . . . one of the finest and most original of talkers. . . . She wrote exactly as she talked, observing, asserting, complaining, confiding, contradicting, crying out and bounding off, always effectually communicating. . . . A prouder nature never affronted the long humiliation of life. . . . The faculty of self-derision was never richer or droller." And again he said: "She reanimated the old drawing-rooms, relighted the old lamps, retuned the old pianos."

At the age of eighty she turned to novel-writing and wrote "Far Away and Long Ago," a book characterized by Miss Armstrong as "a novel with a strange wild plot but a good setting, the New England country she knew so well."

Being the genius that she was, she was undoubtedly not easy to live with, particularly for one as conventional and hidebound as Pierce Butler. She was what Miss Armstrong calls her, "a passionate Victorian." She had a mad passion for earning money herself—a sin for a married woman—for outdoor exercise, for living her own life. She refused to join her husband in his "everlasting thinking about appearances," as she said to him when he tried to prevent her doing such an unladylike thing as riding her horse down to the wharves of Philadelphia—where no proper lady would go. Finally Pierce Butler forced her to leave him, though to do so she had to give up her children; the law gave them to the unfaithful husband, the selfish, domineering man who would have crushed his wife's spirit had it been in the power of anyone to do so. Instead, she again did what no proper lady of the time similarly situated thought of doing; she liberated her spirit and her soul and her genius, earned her own way, came together in later years with her children to their mutual joy—even though her daughter Frances became a Southerner at heart and years after the war wrote a journal of the same Georgia plantation, portraying the difficulties of life there in Reconstruction days and the changed attitude of the Negroes, all from a diametrically opposite point of view from her mother's. Surely such a figure as this merited a notable, a sympathetic, and a judicious biography, and Miss Armstrong has furnished it—a definitive account of one who was a star on the dramatic stage, and on the stage of life as well.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

No Sanctuary

INTERMISSION IN EUROPE. By Vernon Bartlett. Oxford University Press. $2.75.

FODOR in his classic "Plot and Counterplot in Central Europe" gives the essence of what he has seen as a newspaper correspondent in Vienna since the end of the World War. His personality disappears behind his account and interpretation of events. Vernon Bartlett, in writing the story of his life as a journalist and broadcaster, stresses the personal side of his experience, however appalling the event may have been. We have here the post-war history of a man who started in the profession of reporter as an ignoramus—walking up the staircase of the Palais de Luxembourg with the old tiger Clemenceau because he was the only one of the Reuter's Agency staff who had a morning coat and a top hat—and who now in his early forties (married, father of two boys, owner of a house and garden) asks himself: "After all what have I got to do with world affairs?" This after roving over all Europe for nineteen years, interviewing everyone, being always on the spot, if as often as not too late—in Genoa, Geneva, Stresa, the Saar, the Russian-Polish War, the Ruhr, Turkey, Rumania, Italy, and Spain. Now he longs to mind his own business, which would be to care for his family and to allow himself "an occasional glass of beer at the Golden Fleece just across the road." But on the very morning after writing this confession he reads in a journal:

> There are 11,000,000 wage-earners in this country [England] with incomes less than £125 a year. The average wage is below £100. They are all below the standard of livelihood which can make decent material conditions of life possible . . . the nation had 10,000 people who drew incomes averaging £20,000 a year. . . . That contrast was incompatible with the spirit of democracy.

So he knows that his "peace of mind is a sham, that this old brick-and-timber house . . . will never be a sanctuary from the prison of the outside world."

This knowledge is the result of his nineteen-year course in contemporary historical facts, of a course taken by an honest, unprejudiced fellow who confronted life with a sense of humor, liked to eat and drink, and was by nature not a radical. An average gifted English subject, he saw the stupidity of the peace-makers because he had the opportunity to see. His hatred for them led him even to greet Hitler with sympathy. But one cannot live contrary to what one's eyes see. And what sharp eyes the reporter Vernon Bartlett has! Look with him:

> The last time I was in Berlin on a great fête day I came down the Wilhelmstrasse late at night. The floodlights still lit up the long red flags with their black swastikas on white backgrounds which hung from the government buildings. . . . Near me on the Wilhelmplatz were a few rather bedraggled individuals hunting among the rubbish that had been left by partakers in a great torchlight procession. They were just dim figures shuffling around in the snow. But suddenly, as the clocks struck midnight, the floodlights went out. The searchers for poor treasure among the rubbish at once became prominent. They seemed to me to symbolize the whole German people, carrying on its patient struggle for existence, groping in the darkness of a censored atmosphere, as devoid of responsibility and personality as are the tramps that wander along the country road. The show was over.

The reporter starts to think more and more. Returning from the Spanish civil war, he writes:

> I have never had so keen a sense of the importance of freedom as I had in Spain. So keen that I have become terribly bitter against those who seek to limit it, and am no longer ashamed of my inability to be detached and calm.

And he takes quite deliberately a pro-loyalist attitude, which spoils his chances for a better job.

"Intermission in Europe" presents the inner life of an individual with modesty and charm. It rings true from be-

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ginning to end. I envy the coming historians of the twentieth century. Helped by eyewitnesses like Bartlett, who does not hide his own weaknesses, they will have an easy job.

FRANZ HOELLERING

The Artist as Entertainer

YOUNG MAN WITH A HORN. By Dorothy Baker. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.50.

JAZZ is a singularly limited form of musical expression—with respect both to its tonal values and to the quality of its appeal. And there is perhaps no better proof of its formal and spiritual limitations than that offered by the brief careers of some of its top performers—those who, like the hero of Miss Baker's novel, expect from this simple medium more than it has to give. Sooner or later, if we are to take Miss Baker's word for it, the strain of tapping out, night after night, this frenzied music, as well as the effort to do with it more than its technical resources permit, prove too much for the jazz player: sometimes, if he is endowed with more than average sensibility, he goes to pieces.

Rick Martin, the Young Man with a Horn, was one of the finest jazz players of his day. At the height of his popularity, however, he took to drink—and eventually got himself fired from the well-known band in which his playing had been the chief attraction. After this, his decline was rapid: he refused to play again—except for his own amusement, or for phonograph records which did not carry his name; his public soon forgot him; he began drinking more heavily, and he spent his last delirious days in a sanatorium for alcoholics, to which one of his few remaining friends had sent him.

Miss Baker seems herself aware of the tragic dilemma at the root of her hero's downfall: in a prologue to the book she more than hints at it. ". . . What he expected," she says, "he never quite found. He might have found it in another kind of music, but he had no training or any way of coming to know another kind of music. So he stuck to jazz and to the nervous, crazy life that goes with it." Yet she fails throughout the narrative to show very clearly the specific artistic problems responsible for Rick's "nervous, crazy life," or to endow Rick himself with very much individuality. Except in the early scenes, showing him in all the hesitant ardor of his newly awakened ambition, Rick never emerges as a full-sized human being: all we remember of him is his passionate devotion to his music. If it was Miss Baker's intention to present him as a kind of human instrument dedicated to serving the cause of jazz, she has succeeded; but the relationship between him and his music being thus oversimplified, his story is considerably less moving than it might have been. The style is easily the best part of the book: at once racy and flexible, with overtones of American speech, it reflects the psychology of the leading characters in a far more critical fashion than anything that the few attempts at delineation or the flow of incidents manage to bring off. Yet the style, though suited in many respects to the subject as a whole, emphasizes as well certain defects of treatment: a brilliant form of journalese, it has its place in a book which is not so much a novel as a kind of running commentary on the life of a jazz artist, valued in conventional terms.

HELEN NEVILLE

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Plight of the Jobless

WE TOO ARE THE PEOPLE. By Louise V. Armstrong. Little, Brown and Company. $3.

THE RIGHT TO WORK. By Nels Anderson. Modern Age Books. 50 cents.

MEN WITHOUT WORK. A Report Made to the Pilgrim Trust with an Introduction by the Archbishop of York and a Preface by Lord MacMillan. Cambridge University Press and the Macmillan Company. $3.

AFTER nine years of acute economic crisis comparatively few persons among the favored classes have any conception of the life of the people on "the other side of the railroad tracks." Part of the difficulty has lain in the elaborate social and economic barriers which our society has erected between the two groups. The underprivileged are, from the standpoint of the genteel classes, inarticulate. Those who know most about their life—doctors, ministers, and social workers—have also been largely inarticulate, or at least have found no medium to convey their knowledge to that part of the public which likes to believe that most of the unemployed would find work if this relief racket were stopped.

Too much praise cannot be given Mrs. Armstrong's warm, human account of her experiences as a relief administrator in a county in northern Michigan. She tells rather simply how she happened to become relief administrator, describes her struggles with the local politicians, and draws vivid pen pictures of the individuals with whom she dealt. Most of her clients are decent, attractive people who through no fault of their own are no longer able to earn a living; a few are scoundrels and reprobates; but all are intensely human.

Her district in the north woods was exceptional in many respects. Its depression began many years ago when the last of the virgin forests had been cut down and shipped away. Its agricultural resources are poor, and there is little industry. In addition to the foreign element in the town which was stranded by the closing of local factories, left-overs from the lumbering period had to be cared for by the relief agencies Back in the woods were Indians, hill-billies, and descendants of early American settlers. The one thing shared in common by these varied groups was absolute destitution.

If there is any fault in Mrs. Armstrong's skilfully woven narrative, it is the seemingly implicit assumption that federal relief of the type disbursed in the early days of the Roosevelt Administration is the answer to the need of these people. Although she complains at times of the inadequacy of funds and the needs which could not be met, her book is, as a whole, surprisingly uncritical of relief procedure. The broader aspects of social policy with regard to the problem of the stranded population of this northern cut-over area are scarcely touched upon. Mrs. Armstrong is content to give a vivid picture of the situation in terms of individuals.

"The Right to Work" is a much briefer, less dramatic, but readable defense of the Administration's public-works program—the sort of thing one is tempted to stick in the pocket of conservatives who complain about the waste of work relief. It is an admirable popularization of a complicated subject, but even more than Mrs. Armstrong's book it is lacking in analysis and criticism.

"Men Without Work" does for Great Britain all that Mrs. Armstrong has done for this country and more. Although much more academic in style and approach than either of the American books, it is of enthralling interest. The authors have made a careful study of long-time unemployment in six sample towns, which taken together are fairly typical of the country as a whole. Included among the towns are Blackburn, Crook, and the Rhondda, which typify the "special areas." But included also are Leicester and Deptford, which are in the more prosperous sections of England today. In each town the names of a number of unemployed were selected at random, and a thorough investigation was made of each case. The result is a wealth of information about the jobless—the length of time unemployed, previous occupation and earnings, part-time jobs, age, budgets, and use of leisure.

The general picture is a depressing one. Although the number of unemployed in some areas is not so much higher than in the '20's, a much larger proportion have been unemployed for long periods. Of 100 unemployed in 1929, only 5 or 6 had been persistently unemployed. Three years later, at the depth of the depression, 20 in every 100 had been out of work for a year or more. In the fall of 1935, when this investigation was made, the ratio of long-term unemployed had increased to 26 in every 100. While the situation was naturally worse in the depressed areas, the investigation disclosed a surprising amount of long-term unemployment in the more prosperous parts of the country.

In England as in this country age is an important factor in unemployment; there is a sharp increase in the ratio of unemployment among men over fifty-five. In the case of youth, however, the British situation is strikingly different from our own; there is very little unemployment in the early teens, but a very sharp rise in joblessness at twenty-one. Britain also differs from the United States in having a national system of unemployed assistance available for all the jobless. In most instances the unemployment benefits are sufficient to keep families from abject destitution. About 30 per cent of the recipients, however, were found to be living below the poverty line.

In these few words it has not been possible to convey the full value of this study either as a statistical or as a human document. One can only regret that no comparable study of the problem has been undertaken in this country.

MAXWELL S. STEWART

Shorter Notices

NEW WRITING. SPRING 1938. Edited by John Lehmann. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.75.

Today young Chinese, Russian, Spanish, French, or German writers—and most of the contributors to this volume are very young—are alike in one respect: their use of the realistic technique. "New Writing" is given over to the work of writers who show the rise of social consciousness, and this particular collection varies from the earlier ones chiefly in its more international representation. Unlike "New Directions" it includes few writers who use allegory or legend to point a moral; none of its contributors are given to the extravagances of the surrealist technique. But somewhere

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between a rather drab level of realism and the distortions of surrealism there is another type of writing the subject matter of which may be real enough, but the intensity of which is due to the writer's passion or vision. Of situations which rise to illuminate drama, of style which in itself extends the awareness of the reader, we find little here. It becomes obvious that many young writers in England are socially conscious, that some Soviet writers have a sense of humor about their problems, that Chinese passive endurance is changing to a slow fury at the condition of the workers. But all in all, though many of the authors represented are skilful and correct in the choice of details, the collection leaves one exhausted but not impassioned. None of these young writers show more than a serious-minded competence; none transfigure their material. The poems included are mediocre.

CONTEMPORARY ONE-ACT PLAYS. Edited and Selected by William Kozlenko. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

The inevitable monotony of most play collections is somewhat lightened in this volume of ten one-acters by the inclusion of dramatic experiments by three men better known in other fields. Sherwood Anderson contributes a radio drama, "Textiles," which is less a play than a mass chant of primary facts about the industry. William Saroyan's comedy is in the vein of his best stories. Langston Hughes offers an ironical, humorously macabre dialogue between a Negro prostitute and her dead son. Whether the writers will proceed further as playwrights with any success it is difficult to divine from these instances, but since the one-act form enables them to spread themselves comfortably, it would be natural for Anderson and Saroyan to continue in it. They would profit by studying E. P. Conkle's folk comedy "Hawk a-Flying," which is at once casual and tightly developed. This item has the professional touch and a seasoning of rich American humor which make the other nine seem a little amateur. The editor's own script is outstanding in that respect.

SINGING FOR POWER. THE SONG MAGIC OF THE PAPAGO INDIANS OF SOUTHERN ARIZONA. By Ruth Murry Underhill. University of California Press. $2.

The Papago culture is comparatively simple. These humble Indians, who do not make fine blankets, baskets, or jewelry, and whose rituals are less dramatic than those of the Navajo or the Pueblo, have not been written about as frequently as have other tribes of the desert. Miss Underhill has given us here, in as accurate a free rendering as the structure of English permits, a group of songs which the Papago sing for power—to make themselves, so they think, better able to cope with the difficult environment in which they live. Actually the Papagos are better adapted to the desert than most tribes, but much of their energy has gone into keeping themselves alive. Miss Underhill collected these songs directly from Indian informants. She introduces them to her English readers with a short explanation of the ritual during which they are sung. "Singing for Power" should interest both anthropologists and those who like primitive song

Emil Ludwig

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Letters to the Editors

Communist Protest

Dear Sirs: It is extremely distressing to read in *The Nation,* usually so devoted to liberalism and fair play, such an article as that in the issue of June 4 entitled Yankee Communism.

That editorial speaks of the "violence of the conversion" of the Communist Party to democracy; yet the party has ever believed in democracy, the broadest possible democracy for those exploited under capitalism—socialist democracy; and the policy of building the people's front and the democratic front against the menace of fascism is neither a sudden "conversion" nor an unprecedented decision of the recent Tenth National Convention. It was enunciated at the Seventh World Congress of the Comintern in 1935, on the basis of the experiences of the Communist parties of France and the United States before that date.

Indeed, it dates back just ninety years, when Marx and Engels wrote in the "Communist Manifesto" that "the Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests, of the working class; but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. . . . They labor everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries."

Comrade Browder, in his recent book, "The People's Front," states the Communist position in the following terms:

> Our country, in common with the rest of the capitalist world, is threatened with reaction, fascism and war. . . . Although the great toiling majority of the population are not ready to struggle for socialism, they *are* ready to defend their democratic rights and living standards against the attacks of reaction and fascism, and they are more and more anxious to struggle for the maintenance of peace. Organized and roused to struggle, on a platform for which they are now prepared, they can and will prevent fascism from coming to power. . . .
>
> . . . we grant you non-socialists the right to believe that the ultimate outcome will not be socialism, but in the meantime only our unity and common front will prevent fascism from being the immediate outcome. . . . To our allies in the fight against fascism we pledge the use of democratic methods as the sole means of resolving questions in dispute between us. Whichever of us is correct in the last instance, the interests of both will be served by unity and a common front.

The Nation implies that it would approve if the Communist Party declared "frankly": "We want a socialist America; you don't. We differ fundamentally from you about a lot of things, and your idea of democracy is certainly not ours, but if fascism comes we'll all stew in the same pot, so we propose to work along with you on particular issues where the combination can block the fascist advance. And in the meantime we intend to go on trying to convince you that socialism is the only way out."

It will be noted that the declaration which *The Nation* declares "would have been easy to understand and refreshingly honest" is virtually a précis of this official party statement, made first in a report of the party's Central Committee on December 4, 1936, subsequently reprinted in pamphlet form and in the *Communist,* and now in a book which has achieved some 25,000 circulation. Evidently there has been no effort to keep this position a secret within party ranks!

The Nation has often recognized the services to the cause of democracy of the people's fronts of France and Spain, both organized at the instigation of the Communist Party; *The Nation,* too, has condemned the role of the traitorous P. O. U. M. in Spain. Yet in this editorial it professes to see a "danger" in the prohibition of relationships between Communist Party members and confirmed Trotskyites and Lovestonites, confirmed disrupters of the People's Front, confirmed supporters of the traitorous fascist P. O. U. M! How can we build a united anti-fascist movement if we admit these concealed fascists?

We appeal to *The Nation* not to sabotage our common work of preventing the coming of fascism—a calamity which would make impossible alike the maintenance of our present rights and the extension of them through socialism, and which *can* be prevented if all sincere anti-fascists will work together to build the democratic front.

BEATRICE BUTLER,
for the Executive Committee of the
V. J. Jerome School, Communist Party, Columbia University

New York, June 22

[We are aware that the Communist Party has always professed "socialist democracy" as Miss Butler points out. But it has not always championed capitalist democracy, and that is what we were discussing. The citation from Mr. Browder's book, taken as a statement of policy, is one more pledge to "the use of democratic methods." But what are "democratic methods" if they do not imply the right and the duty to criticize, which Miss Butler appeals to us not to exercise lest we "sabotage our common work of preventing the coming of fascism"? If the Communist press attacks the Socialists, or berates *The Nation* for an "incorrect" policy (which we certainly concede it has every right to do), or decrees that all Lovestonites or Trotskyites are *ipso facto* enemies of the working class or "concealed fascists," that is not destroying the solidarity of the anti-fascist front; but if any anti-fascist ventures to criticize the Communist Party line, he automatically covers himself with shame for having contributed to disrupting the unity of all anti-fascist forces at a moment when, etc., etc. This may be good strategy, and if the Communists choose it as a weapon to achieve an ultimate good, we say again that is their business, and we can't debate the matter here. But let them not pretend that it is good old American Jeffersonian democracy, because it is much more like totalitarianism. If such a principle were to predominate in any group in which they happened to oppose the policy of the majority, they would be the first to suffer—and the first to protest.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Hacker vs. Josephson—and Stone

Dear Sirs: I note in your issue of June 11 that I. F. Stone did not care for my review of Mr. Josephson's "The Politicos." Controversies of this kind are unimportant; but Mr. Stone's gratuitously insulting reference to my review as "red-baiting" is. I have been writing reviews of current books in history and politics for almost twenty years, but this is the first time that I have been charged with taking advantage of an author by dragging in extraneous information.

In my review I said that Mr. Josephson's coupling of Lincoln's name with

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those of Stevens and Sumner was due either to his ignorance or to his "adherence to the current line of the Communist Party, which has it that the Civil War was won by a People's Front government." I am amazed that Mr. Stone, who assures us of his wide reading, has not already learned that the Communist Party is at the present time engaged in the process of rewriting American history for the purpose of buttressing its current political position. I take the liberty of informing him that it is. May I refer him to the "The First American Revolution," by the pseudonymous Stalinist, Jack Hardy, which he will find one of the most extraordinary exercises in historical perversion and distortion that have ever been written? As to the Civil War, may I suggest that Mr. Stone read the pseudonymous Richard Enmale's introduction to Marx and Engels's "The Civil War in the United States," published by the official Communist house, International Publishers? There he will find (p. xxiv) the following illuminating observation: "The revolution during the Civil War was essentially the work of a broad and progressive coalition of wage-earners and farmers who after four years of bitter struggle crushed the counter-revolution and brushed aside an antiquated social order."

But Mr. Stone denies that Mr. Josephson seeks to imply that there was cooing agreement in the ranks of the Republican Party during the Civil War. Very well; let us look at the record. On page 16 the author says: "Party structure . . . reached its most efficient organization in our history and, creating a solid phalanx, supported Lincoln's military action." And on page 87: "The party of revolutionary capitalism, under the leadership of Lincoln, Fessenden, Stevens, Greeley, and the youthful Sumner . . ." And on page 236: "All pretended adherence to the great emancipation principles of Lincoln and Sumner . . ." This, I insist, is either ignorance or wilful distortion of the great revolutionary role of the Radical Republicans (with whom Lincoln was constantly at daggers' points) during the Civil War. Mr. Josephson tries to make out—in the passages cited —that the Republican Party acted as a unit, notably on the questions of the conduct of the war and emancipation. Any student of the history of the period knows that Lincoln had to be driven to adopt an emancipation program; he also knows that, as far as Lincoln's conduct of the war was concerned, the Radical Republicans were so suspicious of his intentions that they set up in Congress a committee to keep tabs on the generals and the President. Messrs. Stone and Josephson don't have to take my word for it. I quote from J. G. Randall's "The Civil War and Reconstruction" (p. 368) on the part played by this Committee on the Conduct of the War: "There was a distinctly partisan tinge to the committee's work. Not only did its members resent the importance given to Democratic generals; they labored to promote one flank of the Republican Party, and that the flank opposed to Lincoln and his Administration."

I therefore revert to my original observation about Mr. Josephson (which now includes Mr. Stone): either they are ignorant of the internal politics of the Civil War or they are acting as stooges for the Communist Party. And as a scholar in American history and an honest reviewer, I find it necessary to expose every effort made by Communists or their sympathizers to rewrite American history to serve a political purpose.

LOUIS M. HACKER

New York, June 9

Compulsory Spending

Dear Sirs: In your issue of June 4 a difference of opinion regarding a basic aspect of the spending process is reflected in Keith Hutchison's review of my "When Capital Goes on Strike" and Jacob Baker's letter about my book.

Jacob Baker says that my book indicates "the final necessity of influencing demand through influencing the flow of money" by placing a penalty on hoarding. The kind of "demand" which Mr. Baker evidently deems it desirable to induce is any kind of monetary demand —for goods, services, or capital plant. Keith Hutchison, on the other hand, in saying, "There is little question that the adoption of Mr. Dahlberg's scheme would drive the money hoarders to a goods position, but it would not necessarily compel the investment of savings in new real capital," implies that an increased demand is not desirable unless it expresses itself as a demand for more capital equipment. This raises the issue: when owners of money savings deem the current use of existing plant to be so low that further investment in new real capital would be unprofitable, should they be privileged to elect to buy nothing at all with their money?

Inasmuch as people in the upper income brackets obtain more income than they are willing at all times to pour into new plant, they must be forced into using their funds for buying non-capital goods when they decrease their demands for plant. Their "saved" money, like all other money, must in the aggregate be respent as rapidly as it is received or unemployment exists for the difference. Only a change in our national income distribution could make unnecessary a periodic resort to compulsory spending. It is highly probable that a tax on hoarding would (1) modify our income distribution at the expense of capital by forcing capital to bargain under far more disadvantageous conditions than is the case today, and (2) by intensifying the demand for consumers' goods on the part of "savers" in time put a strain on existing productive facilities and thus induce savers to engage in additional capital investment.

ARTHUR DAHLBERG

Greenwich, Conn., June 20

"To the Egress"

Dear Sirs: Louis Kronenberger, in his book review in your issue of May 28, not only misquotes P. T. Barnum but entitles his book review with the misquotation.

I have not read one of Barnum's innumerable autobiographies for twenty years, but I am sure that when he wanted to get people out of his museum on a rainy afternoon he hung up a sign which read "This Way to the Grand Egress." Barnum assumed that even New Yorkers would know what an exit is and used the less common word because he thought it would fool them, as it did.

H. L. CANFIELD

Rochester, N. Y., June 15

Hospitality for Refugees

Dear Sirs: German and Austrian refugees will find a haven for rest and recreation and an opportunity to study American ways this summer at Aberdeen, a large property on the Hudson River which has been made available to the American Friends Service Committee. The project is especially intended to benefit émigrés of limited means who need a congenial home while seeking to establish themselves permanently in the United States. In no sense is Aberdeen a "charity" institution. The residents, both foreign and American, will pay a dollar a day toward the expenses.

Organized activities will be of two general types. Regular classes will be held in language, literature, American civics and government, and allied economic and social problems, and a program of work and recreation will keep

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everyone busy. There will be swimming, tennis, and hiking, and a garden, one of the principle sources of food, to be cared for. Local Quaker groups have plowed the land and planted the garden. The buildings were formerly used for a workers' school and include an extensive library and workshop.

The undertaking is an experiment in international hospitality and cooperative learning which may point the way to an intelligent approach to the problems raised by political upheaval in Europe.

JOHN F. REICH
Secretary, American Friends Service Committee

Philadelphia, June 14

The New York Post Excepted

Dear Sirs: In my article in *The Nation* for June 18 I referred to the "honorable exceptions" among newspapers which I was indicting for their treatment of the stockyards case. I thought that my listing in the contributors' box as an editorial writer on the New York *Post* would, with proper modesty, indicate that my own paper was one of those exceptions, but I was listed as "a New York newspaperman." In all fairness to the *Post* and the other Stern newspapers, and to correct any possible misinterpretation, may I record the fact that they did give their readers a true picture of what happened?

I. F. STONE

New York, June 22

Wordsworth's Birthplace

Dear Sirs: The house in which William Wordsworth was born at Cockermouth is now on the market, and a committee has been formed to raise funds to buy it as a memorial to the poet. It is a charming eighteenth-century house with fine rooms, a walled garden, and the river Derwent running behind it. The sum of £2,000 is needed, and contributions are sought from all to whom Wordsworth has been a help and an encouragement. The treasurer is the Reverend R. W. Crook, All Saints Vicarage, Cockermouth, Cumberland.

Wordsworth's own feeling for Cockermouth is evident in the following lines:

> Fair seed-time had my soul, and I grew up
> Fostered alike by beauty and by fear:
> Much favored in my birthplace.

J. W. NICHOLAS
Joint Secretary, the Wordsworth National Memorial Scheme

Cockermouth, England, June 1

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